## THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

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### CURRENT CONCEPTS IN SOCIAL CASE-WORK PRACTICE<sup>2</sup>

#### FERN LOWRY

UR previous discussion was based upon a realization that an analysis of case-work method leads us to a consideration of the underlying philosophy which determines method, and that a discussion of that philosophy leads to a consideration of the relation of case-work practice to the setting in which it is practiced. We therefore examined the factors in the setting which influence case-work philosophy and method. We next examined some of the philosophical principles or general purposes which determine the direction of the case worker's activities, recognizing that such activities are meaningful largely as they contribute to the carrying-out of the case worker's basic purposes. We enumerated various specific philosophical concepts which combine to make up the body of case-work philosophy.

In the examination of the philosophical concepts underlying casework practice we now proceed to a consideration of some philosophical concepts which are more specific, in that they more definitely determine the method of social case work. Here it becomes more difficult to dissociate the philosophical concept from the activity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Reprints of the articles by Miss Lowry in this and the September number of the *Review* can be purchased from the University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, in lots of ten or more at 10 cents per copy.

through which it is expressed. Consequently, we will turn our attention to the case-work process itself, the methods utilized in that process, and the philosophic concepts or purposes which determine them.

The traditional description of the case-work process divides it into three groups of activities: those related to "investigation"—or the social study, those related to diagnostic thinking—sometimes termed diagnosis, and those related to treatment—i.e., activities directed toward the elimination or alleviation of the difficulty in relation to which the case worker offers help. In the past, this division of the case-work process into parts or segments has sometimes been rather literally interpreted to mean that the three kinds of activities can be dissociated from one another. In other words, it was assumed that it was possible first to study, then diagnose, and then treat, and that these three activities succeeded each other in orderly sequence. We have, however, come to realize that they cannot be so dissociated from each other because they represent three aspects of a single process, the meaning of which is derived from the presence of all three, and each aspect depends for its meaning upon the other two. Instead of visualizing them as three portions of a straight line, we can visualize them as three strands of a rope, interwoven from one end to the other, so that no matter at what point the rope is cut, we cut across all three. Just so, whenever we take a cross-section of a case, from the point of application to the final interview, we find that all three are present. It is true that at any one point we may find one aspect or the other receiving greater emphasis but always in the presence of and related to the other. It thus becomes somewhat artificial to attempt to separate these three aspects of the case-work process for individual consideration; however, for the purpose of academic analysis and study this seems inevitable. It is analogous to approaching the study of physiology through the separate study of the nervous system, the digestive system, the circulatory system, etc. We realize that in so doing we do not arrive at a real understanding of how each functions in relation to the other or as a part of an organic whole; and we do not in this way come to an understanding of how the human organism functions as a whole, but we can come to a clearer understanding of the functioning of parts of the

organism. So, after we have examined investigation (or social study), diagnosis (or interpretation), and treatment as separate aspects of the case-work process, it will be necessary to place them back in relation to each other again in order to understand the case-work process as a whole.

As case workers we face one problem which is a constant source of confusion. While we conceive of case work as a pseudo-scientific method of helping individuals in need, in that it attempts to pursue an orderly sequence of gathering facts, interpretation of those facts, and action based upon such interpretation, we are also as human beings attempting to help other human beings to handle difficulties which are frequently not apart from, but an integral part of, the human being himself. We do not work in a laboratory in which we can control conditions and test results, and yet we strive for something approaching scientific accuracy in the use of the methodology we have constructed. It seems to be one of the inescapable dilemmas of a professional practice that has no readily definable body of knowledge underlying the practice and that seeks to combine both the science of behavior and the art of human relations. Our position is further complicated by the fact that we cannot, as case workers, keep ourselves as human beings apart from the difficulty which we seek to understand or the individual whom we seek to help. The chemist can believe with all his might that there is sugar in the solution which he is studying, but if he follows with integrity the laboratory routine for testing for the presence of sugar, he cannot secure a positive result regardless of the strength of his belief, unless sugar really is present. On the other hand, the case worker's feeling about the individual and his difficulties do influence the results. If he feels critical, the responses of the individual will be influenced by the fact; if he does not accept the individual whom he seeks to help, the effectiveness of his helping efforts may be lessened. We cannot in this discussion pursue an exploration of the ramifications of this problem, we can only point out that the problem does exist, emphasize the danger that the case worker may become absorbed in the method to the exclusion of adequate consideration for the individual accepting help, and urge the necessity for keeping constantly in mind the fact that as case workers we are also human beings, and

our own attitudes and reactions will determine in part the results of our efforts to help others. Too frequently it is assumed that the individual who seeks help automatically enters into a different category of human beings than that to which the case worker belongs, and that his "capacities" become of greater importance in determining the help that can be given than do the case worker's capacities.

This brings us to a consideration of some of the differentials which affect the case-work process and in relation to which we must approach our examination of the various aspects of case-work practice. We have already noted that case-work practice is influenced by the setting within which it is practiced. We can now add that case-work practice is influenced by two other sets of factors: the factors that determine the character of the need situation and the factors that determine the competence of the worker.

In relation to the first of these, we can briefly point out six factors in the need situation which influence case-work method:

- r. The kind of need-constellation, that is the interlocking of the various needs in the individual situation. For example, in a situation where the problems or needs are those of unemployment, ill-health, and marital conflict, what is the pattern of their interrelationship? Does ill-health create unemployment, which in turn leads to marital conflict? Or does unemployment create marital conflict, and ill-health offer a way of escaping responsibility for unemployment? Does unemployment derive from a set of causal factors unrelated to the other two? Or do marital conflict, ill-health, and unemployment all derive from separate sets of causal factors? The case worker's method of approach in helping with these individual needs will differ according to the constellation of their interrelationship.
- 2. What is the potential mobility of the causal elements in the situation? Is the marital conflict derived from causal elements so deeply imbedded in the personality structure of the individual as to render it impossible for the case worker to help effectively? Can the man secure employment if he is helped physically or do depressed industrial conditions make employment impossible? Is the woman able to relinquish her status as home-maker and accept the responsibilities of bread-winner for the family, or does she need to cling to her position as home-maker in order to retain her husband's affection? Are the behavior problems of the children due to handling on the part of the parents resulting from their own emotional attitudes which are not subject to change? Are the child's difficulties in school due to emotional conflicts from which he can be helped to free himself or are they due to intellectual retardation and consequent inability to meet the demands made upon him

by the school experience? In other words, since our method and approach will differ in relation to the potential mobility of the causal elements in any given situation, it may seem wise to offer help or not to offer help, to move in this direction or in that direction, according to whether or not the underlying causes are subject to change.

- 3. The individual's attitudes toward his needs, the place they occupy in the economy of his emotional life, will also influence the method of the case worker. Does the wife cling to her ill-health to assure herself of the attention of a husband who has ceased to be interested in her affectionally? Does the husband insist upon securing skilled work and refuse work as an unskilled laborer, because all through life he has managed to maintain his emotional equilibrium by building up his status as a skilled workman and therefore superior to his father of whom he is jealous? Does the adolescent need his gang activities outside the home in order to establish an independence which his parents have not accorded him within the family group, and will he need to cling to them until his status within the family is changed? According to the individual's attitude toward, or need for, his present behavior and the utility which his situation has for him in the maintainence of his emotional balance, the case worker's approach and method will be conditioned and directed.
- 4. The case worker's method will also differ in relation to the inherent resources or capacities and the limitations of the individual. The individual's capacity for accepting help, for sharing his personal situation with others, his capacity for redirecting his interests and activities, his ability to assume responsibility, exert initiative, sustain effort—all these will condition the worker's method and determine the direction of his activities in leaving the individual free or stimulating his activity; toward offering help or not offering help; toward taking responsibility or leaving the responsibility with the individual in any given situation.
- 5. The factors precipitating the request for help or the application to the agency will also affect the case worker's methods. Whether the individual has come to the agency because he desired its help in meeting his situation, whether he was propelled into an application for help because of the insistence of others, or whether he has groped blindly toward any source for sharing his discomfort with others. These factors may determine whether the case worker's initial activities will be directed toward helping the individual to achieve an awareness to his basic difficulties or an awareness to the kind of help the agency can offer in his situation; what kind of help the worker will offer immediately, and whether the worker will accept responsibility for helping or suggest other community resources for assistance.
- 6. A sixth factor in the case-situation which will influence the case worker's methodology is that of the individual's attitude toward the agency. Whether the individual approaches the agency as a friendly source of help, whether he

is on guard against the agency's intrusion into his life, whether he seeks assistance because he wished it, or whether his own sense of inadequacy has driven him to ask for something he really does not wish, whether "help" is something to which his life-experience has accustomed him, or whether it represents a new, strange, and somewhat terrifying experience for him, whether in the past he has been accustomed to secure help by making aggressive demands or by seeking approval—all these elements will enter into and condition the case worker's method of approach.

The second set of factors influencing methodology is derived from the competence of the individual case worker. Here we can indicate some specific factors as of importance in their influence on case-work method.

- 1. The worker's ability to understand, that is to perceive meanings in what the individual says and does. Here it is important that the worker be aware of the underlying meaning rather than only the surface meanings of what the individual says. The worker's ability to "span the gaps" and derive whole meanings from the parts which are apparent and the body of knowledge which the worker brings to the illumination of the meaning of the facts are also of importance.
- 2. Important, too, is the case worker's ability to "help others," to establish relationships with others in which they are free to use the help offered instead of limited by the necessity for protecting themselves, escaping, or punishing the worker, because they do not feel safe and comfortable with him. This is the intangible quality which assures others of our interest and support rather than creating an impression of lack of interest or active hostility.
- 3. Another important factor is the case worker's sensitivity to the feelings of others, his ability to know how others feel, to re-create the emotional tones of another individual's situation; his ability to know, without being told in words, how the other person feels; his capacity for keeping his own feelings so apart from the situation that he can know the feelings of others. This is the old concept of "empathy," that is feeling with as differentiated from "sympathy" or feeling for others.
- 4. The case worker's ability to influence others through the impact of his own personality is another important factor. The stimulus which sets forces in motion in others is frequently derived from the forces already in motion within ourselves. The individual case worker may through the sheer impact of his own personality set in motion forces hitherto dormant within the individual. Or, on the other hand, the repressive influence of the case worker's personality may stimulate the forces within the individual to defensive and destructive, rather than productive and constructive, action.
- Also of significance is the case worker's knowledge of the resources within the community to which he can direct the individual in need. It seems a

trite and minor factor, and yet the whole set of developments in any given situation may hinge upon the case worker's awareness of resources for implementing the individual in his attempts to work out his difficulties in his own way.

- 6. And knowledge of resources alone is not enough; the case worker must also be able to utilize resources effectively and productively in the interests of the individual. Knowledge that a given clinic offers specific services may not be put to effective use unless we know how to interest the clinic in the particular needs of the individual and how to interpret the clinic's services to the individual in such a way that he can use them productively. The case worker's knowledge of certain community services may not be of productive help for the individual unless the case worker also knows how to evaluate and use the experience of the individual in relation to those other resources or services.
- 7. There is vet another way in which the case worker's competence affects the effectiveness of his use of case-work methods, i.e., his ability to sustain interest and carry through in the activities by which he seeks to help the individual. It seems almost unnecessary to mention this quality to professional social workers, and yet we do sometimes find case workers whose interest is primarily in establishing the cause of the difficulties and who grow impatient with the slow pace at which change takes place in human adjustments. There are also those case workers who undertake with enthusiasm the problem of helping individuals to meet complicated needs, but whose interest lags when results of their efforts are not immediately forthcoming. Most needs which come to the attention of the case worker have been a long time in the making and will inevitably be a long time in the unmaking. Effective efforts to help in such situations require patience, yes, sometimes even endurance, on the case worker's part, a willingness to be cheered by evidence of gradual progress rather than a reliance upon the early disappearance of symptoms. The case worker's method will be attuned to the tempo of the individual or accelerated beyond the individual's range of progress, according to his ability to meet the demands made upon him for sustaining interest and prolonging efforts in a gradually evolving situation.
- 8. This brings us to a final point in relation to the influence of the case worker's competence upon the methodology of case work, i.e., the case worker's own professional integrity. The extent to which the case worker is able to keep the individual's interest at the center of his own interest; the extent to which the case worker is able to meet the demands of a professional discipline which requires him to set aside personal impulses and wishes and maintain an awareness of the individual's desires and wishes; the extent to which the case worker is able to meet and accept the responsibilities imposed upon him by the fact that he has undertaken to help others to help themselves, not merely to help others. This will reflect itself in his methodology through the

manner in which he allows his own wishes to intrude and obscure those of the individual whom he seeks to help; and in whether the demands imposed upon the individual are those of his own reality situation, or those of the case worker.

There are certain other factors which affect case-work practice, which might be termed a "third dimension" of practice, i.e., the residuals carried on through the development of the community and the profession—concepts, traditions, attitudes, and practices which are historically rather than currently determined. Examples of these are: the use which is made of so-called collateral interviews, the use and construction of face-sheets, records, etc., the practice of routinely verifying dates of birth, marriage, and death, attitudes toward relief, toward registry with the social service exchange, etc.

Thus we find that an approach to the study of case-work method must be made not only in terms of the philosophy which underlies the method in general but also in the light of differentials which affect practice, to be found in the setting, the constellation of need, the competence of the worker, and the influence of tradition. Are we left then merely to flounder in the confusion created by the influence of differentials? Is there nothing in case-work method which can be generalized? Do we meet each individual instance of need as a new and different experience so far as helping is concerned? Is - there anything we can define as generic case-work method? It seems to me that there are some concepts of case-work method which are applicable in any setting, in relation to any need, and can be utilized by any case worker. In examining these generic methods we can see them more clearly if we approach them from the perspective of the underlying purposes which determine them. We will find then, that in any given setting, in relation to any given need, the case worker's method will be directed toward establishing (1) the nature of the need; (2) the personal and social implications of the need; (3) the seriousness of the need, individual and social; (4) the factors which have combined to produce the need-situation; (5) the potential possibilities for bringing about change, i.e., its susceptibility to influence from without and its mobility from within; (6) the resources available, within the individual and within the environment, for bringing about change or meeting the need; (7) the individual's capacity to

use help, or the way in which he can make most productive use of help; and (8) relating himself, i.e., the case worker, to the individual in need in such a way that the individual's forces are kept free to deal as effectively as possible with his situation, and to make the case worker a force which implements the individual in his efforts to meet his needs.

These are, in general, the purposes that underlie the worker's methods; now we can consider the methods themselves. The individual comes into relationship to the case worker when he first asks for help from the agency. Let us examine the psychological setting within which that first coming-together of the individual and the case worker takes place. The individual has been overwhelmed by a situation that he has been unable to meet on his own. This gives us our first psychological clue to method. The individual comes to the agency at a point where his sense of personal adequacy has been threatened. It is natural then that we should find him reacting to the experience of seeking help in whatever manner is natural to his way of responding in situations where a sense of personal inadequacy has been forced in upon him. We may expect him to come defending himself against the implications of inadequacy, cautious in approaching this new and strange experience, unsure of himself and unsure of the reception he may be given by the case worker. We should expect to find him seeking to keep the situation within his control, safeguarding the possibilities of withdrawal if the experience becomes too painful for him to tolerate, sometimes expressing openly, at other times indirectly, his resentment against the necessity for asking help; expressing this resentment against the case worker, the agency, the community, or himself; sometimes making excessive demands to cover up his fears that his need will not be met; sometimes hesitating to reveal the full extent or nature of his needs for fear that if they seem too great or if their real nature is known he will not be given help; fearing the case worker's judgment of him, and therefore seeking to establish himself with the worker; sometimes so absorbed in the real and painful aspects of his situation that he is not free to consider it from any but his own perspective or free to consider any plan for relieving his discomfort other than his own. From this, then, we get our clues as to the first concepts underlying our methodology:

(1) that our initial responsibility, as case worker, is to help the individual seeking help to feel as comfortable and as free as is possible within the limits of his painful situation; (2) that our efforts be directed toward understanding his situation as it seems to him to be, attempting to see it in the light not only of the facts which will serve to define it but also in the light of his feelings about it; and (3) that, since there are limits to the help which can be given as well as to the help which is requested, these limits be clearly defined so that both the individual and the case worker can approach the problem of dealing with his situation with an awareness of the kind of help which the agency can give and the relation of that help to the need with which the individual is struggling.

We might elaborate somewhat upon this last clue to method, i.e., the individual has come to the agency in search of help for a specific need, the agency has certain services related to meeting certain kinds of needs. The individual is frequently confused as to just what kind of help this agency can give and under what conditions help will be given. He is forced by the urgency of his own situation to seek help and reaches out for it, sometimes almost gropingly. The case worker, on the other hand, is often not sure as to in just what way the agency can help this individual, as to just what help he needs, or as to whether he can meet the conditions under which the help of this agency can be given. One of the case worker's responsibilities becomes, therefore, that of focusing the relationship of the individual's need for help to the agency's capacity to give help, in order that both the worker and the individual can proceed together upon a common understanding of their relationship to each other. This naturally cannot always be accomplished in a single interview, or in two or three, but in these first interviews a beginning can be made in the development of this mutual awareness. The process of establishing eligibility can become a way of achieving this focus, as can also the process of interpreting agency function. This will be true if we consider that the process of establishing eligibility and interpreting agency function is not merely directed toward arriving at the fact of eligibility or a statement of function, but is basically directed toward establishing the nature of the need and its relation to the services of the agency.

We might digress here to consider for a moment the whole question of the individual's eligibility for services or help of a specific kind. Too often we consider eligibility as having meaning only in relation to public agencies or services, and the process (or method) of establishing eligibility as unique to case-work practice in public assistance programs. We may even interpret eligibility as a barrier which the individual must surmount before the services are made available to him, and the process of establishing eligibility as a necessary procedure which handicaps the case worker, in that she cannot get about the business of helping until eligibility is established. This, it seems to me, represents too narrow a concept of eligibility. It is not a concept unique to public assistance programs, or other public services. It is not even unique to case-work practice. As individuals we are constantly establishing our eligibility for certain kinds of services: a certain academic standard is necessary to establish eligibility to pursue our studies in the university; evidence of having reached the age of six is necessary to establish eligibility for our children to enter public schools; collateral is necessary to establish eligibility for a loan from the bank. It is a process by which we as individuals establish our identity as members of various groups or categories; it is a process by which we are assured that certain privileges will be ours, not because some individual chooses to give them as largesse but because they are available to those who belong within certain groups. In this sense the concept of eligibility for services is the same in public and private case-work practice. The difference being largely in relation to the nature of the criteria upon which eligibility is based and the degree of certainty that help will be forthcoming once eligibility is established. Because, in public welfare practice, the criteria for eligibility are determined largely by legal statute, they tend to be more objective, place less responsibility upon the worker for individual interpretation than is true in private agencies where eligibility is determined in relation to a sometimes not too clear concept of agency function, which is in turn determined by the board, the executive, or the professional staff. In public agencies the base for eligibility is a reflection of the attitude on the part of a community of which the individual and the worker are a part which neither of them can personally set aside; in some private

agencies the base for eligibility may be determined not at all or only in part by the community, and it may be subject to the personal interpretation and judgment of the worker. This places an undue degree of responsibility in the worker's hands and diminishes the individual's certainty of being able to prove himself eligible, and therefore the services given become associated more definitely with the agency's freedom to give, than with the individual's right to, the services. This is to some degree inevitable, because the criteria used are not objective; the individual can present documentary evidence of residence, whereas he cannot present an affidavit of emotional conflict, but must rely upon the worker's acceptance of his statement of feeling and the worker's ability to perceive the meaning of the feelings he expresses.

This broad concept of eligibility, as the means through which the individual establishes his identity as a member of a group for whom the privilege of certain services is made available by the community, has significance for us in relation to case-work method, in that it clarifies for us the fact that it is really the individual who is establishing his eligibility for service, according to criteria which are determined not by the worker or the individual, but by the community. The case worker's role then is not one of giving or withholding the services, but rather he is the one to whom the individual makes clear his eligibility; his role is that of clarifying the criteria for the individual and of offering assistance in establishing eligibility in the light of those criteria. This means that our methodology is not directed toward inquiring into, or investigating into, another person's life-situation, but rather, toward helping that individual to gather and present such facts from his life-situation as will clarify his status and establish his identity as belonging to a specific group. This places the entire investigatory or study process upon a different psychological base than is true if we assume that it is the worker's responsibility to establish eligibility and to give or withold services in relation to his own judgment. It means that the focusing of the mutual basis upon which the individual and worker proceed together is such as to define clearly the relationship of the individual's need to the agency's services and implies that the study method is not merely a process of gathering facts but also a process of developing a mutual understanding on the part of the individual and the worker as to the need which they are attempting jointly to meet, the help which the agency can give, and the conditions under which the individual accepts such help.

Thus we see that our methodology in the intake process, the exploratory interviews, the investigation, or the social study, by whatever name we prefer to designate those activities which characterize the worker's first contacts with the individual in need, is constructed around four basic purposes:

- To assist the individual to be as comfortable and free as is possible in meeting and handling the experience of asking for help
- 2. To help him define as clearly as possible the reason for which he is seeking help; the need, both as defined objectively by the facts which delineate it in its reality manifestations, and the feelings which define its significance to the individual
- To establish clearly the relation between the individual's need and the agency's capacity to help, and the conditions under which such help is given and accepted
- 4. To assist the individual in marshaling such facts from his life-situation as will serve to establish his "eligibility" for such services as are available

To these four, we can now add a fifth:

5. Lending the individual such support as will enable him to make a maximum use of the helps available; assisting him to accept and participate in the helping process; offsetting, in so far as possible, the painful elements in the experience for him, helping him to conserve his sense of adequacy and of self-importance; offsetting the anxieties attendant upon yielding a share of the control of his situation to others; conserving his activities in his own behalf and the sense that the responsibility for his situation still rests with him, even though he does accept the help of others in meeting that responsibility in part

These, then, represent the basic purposes underlying our method in the exploratory processes, investigation, or social study. Just how are these purposes translated into method, just what do we do, when we seek to carry out these purposes? The structure of what we do is easily discernible. We talk with the individual, we help him to decide just what other people can contribute to the clarification of his situation, or we indicate who else it will be necessary to talk with in order to meet the conditions imposed upon eligibility for help; we talk with other persons—employers, relatives, friends, other mem-

bers of the family, other members of the community. The decision as to whom we will consult depends upon the principle of selection in the individual instance, that principle of selection being determined either by the need-situation itself or by the policy and practices of the individual agency or by the conditions upon which eligibility can be established. In those talks we direct the conversation toward securing the kind of facts, or data, or material which is relevant to the particular situation. Throughout we attempt to maintain the individual's participation in the efforts to clarify his need and to develop and sustain his awareness to the validity of such activities. In our talks with the individual or others we direct our conversation toward helping each to reveal facts and feeling which are pertinent to an understanding of the need-situation and the available resources or capacities for meeting it. All this seems quite simple; it may indeed be oversimplified. It could be made to seem more complicated by discussing it in terms of intake process, interviewing techniques, direction, focus, exploratory processes, probing, revealing of feelings, reassurance, support, etc. The fact remains, however, that when shorn of its glorifying garments of technical terminology, the process of coming to an understanding of another's need and helping him to utilize the help which is available for meeting that need is essentially a simple one. The difficulty seems to be that we may get lost in the woods of techniques and lose sight of the trees of purpose. Which brings us back to a consideration of why we cannot discuss the method of social case work in terms of technique. As I understand it, the technique is essentially the means by which purpose or meaning gets translated from one individual to another. In other words, what we do or say or do not do or say takes on significance only as it is related to the underlying purpose which it serves. We can even go farther than that and recognize that only purposes can be generic. i.e., transferable from one person and situation to another. Because of the nature of case-work technique, if it is to be effective, it should be natural to both the worker and the individual. It will be natural that one person, purposing to convey the fact that he understands the feelings of another, will say, "That must have been hard for you"; and another, with the same purpose will find a natural expression of that purpose in saying, "Gosh, that's tough!" So also,

in a discussion with one person we may say, "I can see that you have been having a difficult time indeed"; whereas the same purpose may be expressed in a discussion with a person of a different culture. who has difficulty in understanding English, by shaking our heads vigorously and saying "Bad, bad." In other words, in learning how to do case work or in improving our case-work method, we should be less concerned with learning how others express their purposes than in discovering the purposes underlying their expressions. If we can absorb and assimilate the philosophic or purpose-concepts, we can find the mode of expression, or technique, which is natural to us and to those whom we seek to help. We may dangerously limit the effectiveness of our efforts in meeting individual needs if we become absorbed in the "how" of practice and lose sight of the "why." We will dissipate our energies in meaningless activity because it is the accepted way of practice, while the individual is left to suffer in isolation; we may become so absorbed in learning to use the latest, most fashionable words and phrases, that we fail to sense the meaning of the individual's need.

#### DIAGNOSTIC PROCESSES

We come now to a discussion of the diagnostic processes in case work. We cannot discuss how a diagnosis is to be done any more than we could discuss how to do a social study or investigation as such. We can, however, indicate some of the things which are involved in the process of diagnostic thinking and activity. The simplest definition of the diagnostic process is that it is "the process of deriving meanings." It is essentially a thinking process together with activities determined by and directed in relation to that thinking. It is obvious that our diagnostic activities then are predicated upon two assumptions: (1) that we know how to think; and (2) that we have something with which to think. By that I do not mean the requisite number of cerebral cells and neurone paths but rather a body of knowledge which gives meaning to what we see and hear and feel. If we call in an engineer to correct a flaw in our heating system, he makes certain observations, determines certain facts, and then, because he brings to those observations and facts a body of knowledge about the functioning of furnaces, he is able to identify, we

might almost say "diagnose," the difficulty, and knows something of the possibilities and methods of correcting it. He may even pursue his "diagnostic activities" farther by trying first this and then that, to see if it works, proceeding not upon a certain knowledge of the difficulty but rather upon certain hypotheses or assumptions as to its nature, and establishing or ruling them out, through his activities. If we are so unfortunate as to have called in an engineer who does not have the requisite body of knowledge, he may not know what to look for, or seeing it, it he may not recognize it. He may either acknowledge his inability to understand the difficulty or he may make a faulty diagnosis of its nature and proceed to do all the wrong things. Or he may proceed—because he feels a responsibility for doing something—on a hit-or-miss basis to try out all the things he thinks might help. He may hit the right one—he may even hit it the first time—but his ability to correct the defect will not be due to his ability to understand its meaning but only to good luck, or the laws of chance, and when he meets his next furnace, he will have to start all over again. So also, the social case worker faces the problem of understanding various individual and social situations, if he is to be of assistance to the individual who has sought his help. And his ability to understand and to be helpful will be in direct relation to the body of knowledge which he brings, which will give meaning to the things he hears and sees. This body of knowledge escapes rigid definition, but we recognize that it is drawn from the fields of medicine, psychology, psychiatry, economics, law, sociology, political science, anthropology, philosophy, industry, etc.; and includes a sense of relatedness to the current political, social, economic, and cultural situation of which we are a part. Students in schools of social work frequently rebel against what they consider are the "unrelated" courses in the curriculum-i.e., law, social sciences, economics, etc.—considering them unrelated because they do not seem to contribute directly to their ability to help the people who have come to them for assistance. The method courses in social case work, community organization, and group work seem so much more related to the practical problems with which they are grappling in the field. However, since the individuals who come to them are biological organisms, functioning within social relationships, exposed to the

influence not only of traditional or historical developments but also the current developments in the political, social, and economic scene and, since their behavior will be subject to influences from these sources and many of their needs will be determined in whole or in part by these forces, it is as important that we bring to the understanding of their needs a body of knowledge of these related fields. as that we bring knowledge of psychology, psychiatry, and case-work method. Sometimes it seems almost as though we have a tendency to assume that a knowledge of psychiatry and case work alone is sufficient; that the individuals whom we serve are only animated bundles of emotional conflicts and that all we need in order to understand and help is an acquaintance with the structure and function of the ego and libido. Sometimes, also, it seems that there are those of us who seek to increase our skill in diagnostic activities by concentration on the mechanics of diagnosis, as though it were a method which could be mastered if we could but discern its pattern. These dangers have led me to stress what I consider to be the essential element in diagnosis-i.e., the body of knowledge which gives meaning to facts—before attempting to analyze what is involved in the process itself. I know of no way in which the individual case worker can become more skilful in diagnostic activities except through adding to his body of knowledge and learning to discipline and direct his thinking processes.

We find that diagnosis, or the act of deriving meanings, has two connotations as used in the field of case work: (1) to describe an act in which we survey what we know and come to a conclusion as to its meaning; and (2) as a process, a series of acts following upon each other, each taking its meaning from its relatedness to the others and resulting in a continuing process of developing an increasing understanding of the meaning of each new fact.

The process itself is, as we have said, a thinking process, but we do focus our thinking around certain material as sources of understanding. In diagnostic thinking we use:

- Factual material—the logic of facts has meaning for us, i.e., if they stick together and are related to make a whole which is acceptable to reason
- Emotional material—evidences, observed or expressed, of tension, conflict, or anxiety. The actual expression of feeling, physical evidence of tension,

overreactions or underreactions as judged by the realities to which the individual is reacting, the "quality" or "tone" of emotion—hysteria, fear, anger, etc.

Clinical material—the individual's behavior responses in a given situation, including responses to the worker as part of his situation. Not what he does or feels, but how he behaves in certain situations

The process of thinking around this material is less easy to analyze. We cannot attempt an "anatomy of the thinking process," but we can indicate some things which we do in thinking about our material and in deriving meanings from it. For one thing, we first sift the relevant from the irrelevant material, discarding that which seems to have no meaning in the light of the particular situation. This is the process which makes heaviest demands upon our body of knowledge.

Another step is that of getting the facts into relatedness to each other to discover whether in and of themselves they explain the situation adequately. This is the process of interpreting facts, establishing the absolute or necessary conclusion from the facts known.

A third process may follow this one; if the facts known do not by their relatedness establish meaning or necessary conclusions, we may utilize the process of inference, i.e., we derive conclusions or meaning inferentially; we conjecture a probable conclusion toward which the known facts, statements, etc., point, but which do not absolutely establish the conclusion. This is the process involved in the use of circumstantial evidence. All the necessary facts to support a conclusion or meaning have not been established, but those which we have all point in the direction of one conclusion or meaning. The dangers of the use of inference in the diagnostic process are obvious, and our inferences will be sound according to the proportion of known facts to those we assume or conjecture. The more facts we assume and the fewer we establish, the greater the possibility of making unsound inferences. It is particularly important that we, as case workers, should be aware of this danger and should subject our thinking to the disciplines which will minimize it. There are those of us who can take two facts, supply twenty others by conjecture, and still sleep soundly in the certainty that our conclusions are valid. We are particularly prone to do this when we establish the meaning of behavior through relating a single fact (or a few facts) to a theoretical concept to which it seems related, allowing one or two facts to support a superstructure of theory. If we utilize theory, we should strive to square the theory with all of the facts rather than try to make a few facts support a theory.

A fourth process which may be included in our diagnostic thinking and activities is the use of hypothesis. In this process we assume the meaning of the facts we have established, using the assumed meaning as a basis for further investigation or experiment. A bacteriologist asked to examine the brain of a dog which has suddenly gone wild and bitten six people assumes that the dog may have had rabies and carries through laboratory tests for rabies upon the basis of this assumption, thus establishing whether his assumption is valid or not. As case workers we seldom, in the beginning, have all the facts necessary to establish an absolute conclusion or to support a valid inference; therefore, we constantly use hypothesis, assuming that this is the meaning of the behavior or situation, and proceeding to test out the validity of our assumptions by undertaking activities in that direction. Again, the dangers attendant upon the use of hypothesis are obvious. We must remember that it is a hypothesis and not confuse it with an established conclusion. We must remain free to evaluate the results of our testing activities and discard one hypothesis for another; we must be willing to accept a hypothesis only if the results of our testing activities support it and not attempt to coerce the facts to support the hypothesis which we have accepted.

The nature of the interweaving of the diagnostic process with those of study and treatment derives from the nature of the casework process. We cannot wait to establish all the facts before we are forced to understand the meaning of those we have; we cannot wait to be sure of that meaning before undertaking activity. The individuals who come to us for help are caught up in the pain and discomfort of their need-situation; they want release and they look to us for help in securing that release. They cannot wait until we have established all the facts, have come to an understanding of them, and can direct our activities in relation to this understanding. We cannot hold ourselves apart from their situation, we become a part of it

when they enter our office or we enter their homes; we become an influence and we must direct that influence in relation to the meaning that whatever facts we may have has for us. This is the dilemma which we mentioned earlier, the attempts of professional case work to maintain the aspects of a true science although it is not practiced within the controlled conditions of a laboratory. Perhaps we can take a clue from medicine, which to a certain extent is practiced under the same conditions. The doctor comes in contact with a patient at a point where he is suffering definite symptoms, subject to severe pain. The doctor may not be able to establish the facts on the spot which will enable him to make a certain diagnosis and direct treatment upon the basis of that diagnosis, perhaps it is necessary to get a report from the laboratory on a blood-test, a urinanalysis, an X-ray, or a specimen of sputum. However, he can, on the basis of facts he can establish at the moment, construct a hypothesis as to the meaning of the symptoms and proceed with treatment on that hypothesis until such time as he can validate it through establishing further facts; or he can direct his activities toward alleviation of the symptoms until such time as he can definitely establish their meaning. He can prescribe medication to bring down the temperature or to strengthen the heart action; he can administer a sedative to bring relaxation and free the natural recuperative forces, even though he is not yet sure of the diagnosis. So also, in social case-work practice, we must proceed into activity on the basis of the facts that we have. Our safeguards will be the extent of our knowledge, the discipline of our thinking and reactions, and the degree of our professional integrity, i.e., our ability to work within the limitations of what we know, subject to the demands we accept for knowing more before we undertake more direct activity.

Perhaps it might be apropos at this point to consider something of the historical developments of our concept of the diagnostic process as a means of coming to a further understanding of what is involved in diagnostic activities.

We have our first definite formulation of the diagnostic process from Mary Richmond, when she defined it in *Social Diagnosis*, as "the attempt to make as exact a definition as possible of the situa-

tion and personality of a human being in some social need,"2 and added that the formulation includes (1) a description of the difficulty, (2) the peculiarities of circumstances which differentiate this case from all others. (3) the enumeration of causal factors, and (4) an appraisal of the assets and obstacles to treatment. This concept of social diagnosis, as its name suggests, was largely in relation to social needs and was based upon the use of facts as defining the nature of the difficulties. From this we progressed next to a realization that the needs with which we dealt were not only social but personal in origin, and that the feelings of the individual, as well as the facts, serve to define the need. Then we added to this a recognition that the need as seen by the individual, as well as the need as seen by the social worker, was of significance if we were to be able to help. Later we came to the realization that if we are to be of help to individuals. it is not enough to establish the nature of the difficulty, but we must learn something also of what can be done in relation to it, i.e., its treatability. Therefore, the range of our diagnostic activities was broadened to include not only attempts to establish the nature of the need-situation, but also its accessibility to treatment, the individual's capacities for dealing with it on his own initiative, and his capacity for using the help of the agency or the worker. In other words, our diagnostic processes and the meanings which we attempted to derive from material have relation not only to the formulation of the problem or need, as defined by facts and feelings, but also meanings which define what possibilities there are for change, and meanings which define the individual's ability to use help in effecting change.

We recognize, then, that the diagnostic process should reveal to us not only the kind of need-situation, but also something as to the extent to which it is subject to change, and the extent to which the individual concerned is able to accept help in effecting change. Therefore, we find that the diagnostic process is really at the center of the treatment process, in so far as it reveals the selection and direction of treatment methods—i.e., what to treat, what not to treat, and how to treat—in the individual situation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mary Richmond, Social Diagnosis (Russell Sage Foundation, 1917), p. 357.

When we enter into a discussion of treatment, we should recognize that with the evolution of our concept of the diagnostic process there has been an increasing emphasis upon the individual nature of the need and less emphasis upon the objective nature of the need. This is a natural result of the increasing infiltration of knowledge from the field of psychiatry into the field of social work. Its effect has been to bring about the necessity for constructing a methodology which has been more and more related to understanding the individual, and treatment activities which have at their center the nature and character of the individual rather than the nature and character of the "need." We may diagnose problems but we treat individuals. Thus, we do not attempt to treat "unemployment," but rather John Jones, who is unemployed; we do not treat "illness," but rather Mary Smith, who is ill; and "marital conflict" is not our center of interest, but rather Mr. and Mrs. X, who are unhappy and uncomfortable in their marriage relationship. Also, in treatment methodology, the emphasis is more upon helping the individual and less upon the elimination of the need per se. In other words, our methodology is more definitely "individual in focus" and less "needfocused" than heretofore. This is reflected in the emergence of purposes directed consciously toward helping the individual to feel comfortable and free, trying to understand the individual's feeling, directing activities in relation to the individual's capacities and interests rather than the worker's, emphasis upon the individual's right to self-determination, etc.

And in all of this, our diagnostic thinking or process constitutes the base from which we proceed and directs our activities in offering help. It offers not only a base for determining what the need is, but also for determining what the focus and direction of treatment activities should be.

#### TREATMENT PROCESSES

When we attempt to analyze what is involved in treatment, we find that it consists of a series of activities undertaken because of, or based upon, an understanding of the needs; these activities are directed toward the underlying causes determining the difficulty and have as their objective the elimination of, modification of, or relief

from, the difficulty, and greater opportunity for the individual for continued growth and more effective functioning. The activities. understanding, direction, and objectives are shared by the individual and the case worker; they are determined from within the individual and his situation, not by the case worker alone. With this point of view about treatment, we realize that our treatment activities will derive their effectiveness from the extent of understanding upon which they are based, the purpose they serve in relieving the difficulty, and the extent to which they are determined within the individual and his situation rather than superimposed by the case worker. This gives us a basis upon which to judge the validity of treatment activities, and makes it clear that the effectiveness or the ineffectiveness of treatment does not rest upon the activity itselfi.e., helping the individual to free himself from the restrictions of emotional conflicts is not necessarily any more effective, or any "better," case-work treatment than helping the individual to secure needed medical care, vocational direction, or employment. The treatment activity, in other words, should be evaluated upon the extent to which it is based upon adequate understanding, purposefully directed and individually determined.

There have been various attempts made to classify treatment activities for descriptive purposes. Various terminology has been used but in general all these attempts fit into three general forms:

- r. Those activities which are directed toward the enrichment of, or modification of, the environment; putting tools, so to speak, into the individual's hands, which he can use; or conditioning his environment in such a way that he can use what capacities he has more effectively. This is variously called environmental, manipulative, palliative, or superficial form of treatment.
- 2. Those activities that are directed toward the modification of the environment as a means of affecting individual attitudes and relationships, thus enabling the individual to make more productive use of himself in relation to his environment. (An allowance given an adolescent as a means of helping to establish his independence within the family, "made-work" as a means of providing opportunity for achievement and restoring a sense of adequacy.) This form of treatment activity has variously been called indirect, indirect environmental, or secondary level.
- 3. Those activities directed toward the modification of attitudes and relationships, freeing the individual from inhibiting or impeding conflicts or anxieties and enabling him to function more effectively, the activity being directed

toward the individual's subjective realities or feelings. This form of treatment activity has been called direct, intensive, personal, psychological, or therapeutic. (Helping a woman to come to a decision with regard to leaving her husband, by helping her explore her own feelings and face her own problems. Helping a child to be more free in his relationships with others by helping him to achieve an acceptance of his own worth.)

The category or classification does not really matter, much less the name by which we designate it. They are useful largely as a means for enabling us to see the individual instance in a perspective which is common to all. They are useful in describing the single activity or group of activities, but not the case as a whole. The treatment process in a single case may include all forms of activity, the major emphasis shifting from time to time as the diagnostic base becomes more clearly defined. We may think of the treatment process as a whole, as a mosaic of activities which derives its meaning from the interrelatedness of its parts.

Can we examine more specifically just what is involved in treatment? We have said that the forces which effect change are within the individual and that the direction of treatment activities is determined within the individual and his situation. What then does the worker contribute? Once he understands the difficulty how can the worker stimulate or set in motion those forces within? The worker's contribution in treatment may be seen as:

- 1. Through his relationship with the individual, providing a medium through which the individual is able to make most productive use of his capacities; i.e., he can utilize them in coping with his need rather than in directing them toward "handling" the worker, protecting himself, or making demands upon the worker
- 2. Through concrete services which implement the individual in handling his situation more effectively, such as financial help, vocational direction
- 3. Through manipulative services which shift the constellation of environment, thus freeing the individual from inhibiting conflicts with his environment and enabling him to use his capacities differently (i.e., transfers from one school to another to get trade training, helping a family to move to better housing quarters to relieve overcrowdedness and tension)
- 4. Stimulating the individual to remain active when the pressure of his situation might bring about frustration and inactivity if there were no external stimulus
- 5. Offering the individual support and re-inforcement, enabling him to bear

pressures and pain, under which he might otherwise succumb to frustration (encouragement, reassurance, sharing)

- 6. Assisting in freeing the individual from inhibiting pressures through making possible release from tension through catharsis, or "blowing off steam," or through minimizing the pressure of conflicts by giving the individual a sense of his acceptance of the worker
- 7. Facilitating maturation, or progress, within the situation through directing concern and activities toward the individual's center of interest, or toward the underlying difficulties; helping the individual to define his reality more clearly and to accept it with less tension; helping the individual to see a new relatedness within his situation, thus shifting his perspective; assisting the individual to crystallize or clarify the issues confronting him
- Stimulating forces within the situation through the introduction of a new ingredient, the worker, and his relationship with the individual which offers a new force setting other forces into motion
- 9. Bringing about a new constellation of emotional need through helping the individual to discuss his emotional concerns, providing thereby a channel for freeing himself through ab-reaction, through projection upon the worker of conflicts hitherto centered within himself or others; for reorientation to his situation through seeing his concerns in a different relatedness, through interpretation, reassurance or acceptance, helping to diminish conflict

These are, in general, some of the contributions the worker makes through treatment activities; what he injects into the individual's situation through his presence and activities there. His more specific techniques in making these contributions, i.e., exactly what he does or says, or doesn't do or doesn't say, will grow out of his underlying philosophy. Here we can define some concepts which we might call a philosophy of treatment, the concepts which give purpose and direction to our treatment activities in general.

- I. Recognition of the multiplicity of causality; that the needs in the individual situation are the product of multiple rather than single causes and attempts to meet them must take into consideration their multiple roots
- Recognition that the individual's behavior has meaning for him in the light of his total situation; that its purposiveness to the individual is the dynamic which determines behavior
- Recognition that individual personal needs and reality or environmental needs are interrelated, and any approach to the understanding and meeting of need must take into account both its personal and reality significance
- Recognition that the worker and the individual are a part of a constellation which includes the community; and the ultimate limits and direction of their

joint efforts will be determined in part by the community mores, standards, and resources

- 5. Recognition that the limits to the individual's right to self-determination are determined by the extent of social responsibility which both worker and individual must assume because they are parts of a larger social group.
- Recognition that the worker's own personality is an important factor in determining his attempts to help the individual
- 7. Recognition of the necessity for flexibility in establishing hypotheses or making diagnoses; retaining freedom to shift in relation to new facts rather than being caught up in crystallized conclusions which may prove unsound
- Recognition that the individual's feelings and sense of need constitute the center of interest for the worker and the base for treatment developments
- Recognition of the validity of the individual's feelings; his right to feel as he does, and the necessity for acceptance of that right on the worker's part
- 10. Recognition of the individual's right to self-determination in deciding what services or what help he wishes from the agency
- II. Recognition of the need to conserve and stimulate the individual's activity in his own behalf, since the responsibility for his situation will ultimately rest with him
- 12. Recognition of the importance of the individual's capacity for using help, as determining the help which the agency can give
- 13. Recognition of the necessity for seeing the individual situation in perspective as a whole, seeing details in relation to wholes, known facts in relation to unknown, psychological factors in relation to reality ones

Treatment in social case work is, however, something more than the sum-total of a series of acts or activities. It is something more than a sum-total of philosophical concepts expressed in action. There is another ingredient which in the long run determines the quality of the help which the case worker can give to the individual in need, and which constitutes the most important element in the whole social case-work process. Perhaps I can illustrate what I mean in this way. I believe that the discovery of vitamin ingredients in foods was brought about by the discovery that when milk was chemically analyzed and its known ingredients—carbohydrates, protein, minerals, fats, and water-were fed to laboratory animals separately in the same proportions in which they existed in whole milk, these animals did not thrive as well as those who were fed whole milk. This led to the assumption that whole milk contained some ingredients other than those hitherto discernible through chemical analysis. Later it was established that these ingredients were the

vitamins. Just so, in our analysis of the case-work process we have separated out certain ingredients-knowledge, philosophy, techniques, skills-but the actual effectiveness of our help to others is determined by something more than the sum-total of these ingredients. There is a "vitamin" content in case work also. This is the quality of understanding and acceptance which the worker brings to the individual as a human being; it is in essence a respect for and love of people, just because they are people. Dr. Emery<sup>3</sup> has pointed out that modern surgery did not develop until after the discovery of anesthetics; it was only as the patient could be helped to bear the pain that pain could be inflicted upon him. Asking for help, taking help, sharing personal situations with others, making changes in ourselves are painful processes. If we as case workers are to be able to help others through these painful adjustments and changes, we must help them to bear the pain. Our love for people, our acceptance and understanding are the ingredients that make our help effective. Without them the techniques of case-work practice lose their significance and are not really a means of helping others who are in need.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> E. Van Norman Emery, "First Interviews—as an Experiment in Human Relations," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry (April, 1936), p. 268.

#### POOR LAW PROVISION FOR FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY\*

#### EDITH ABBOTT

EGAL family responsibility, or what is called "enforcement of the duty to support" is one of the antiquated poor law provisions that still remains in many of our states. These statutory provisions require that before public aid is given, or, in case of an emergency, as soon as possible after such aid is given, the relatives within specified degrees of kinship, who are believed to be able to support the poor person, shall be called upon to do so; and if they refuse, the poor law lays down certain provisions for their prosecution.

In most of the states, the statutory provisions regarding the liability of relatives under the poor law are no longer used to secure support for the wife and minor children, who are provided for in other newer special legislation, such as "domestic relations" or "parent and child" statutes. The poor law, however, is still used in two-thirds of our states to compel such relatives as adult children

\* A section from a forthcoming book on Public Assistance to be published in January by the University of Chicago Press.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, New York Public Welfare Law, chap. xi, which deals with "Powers of Public Welfare Officials To Enforce the Duty of Support." And see also Illinois Revised Statutes, chap. 107, "Paupers," in which the first twelve sections of the statute deal with the subject of support by relatives: sec. 1, "Who is liable to support"; sec. 2, "Who first called upon—county can sue relatives"; sec. 3, "Complaint of state's attorney"; sec. 4, "Complaint by overseer of the poor"; sec. 5, "Summons"; sec. 6, "Trial—judgment"; sec. 7, "Contributions"; sec. 8, "Partial support"; sec. 9, "Time of maintenance and payment"; sec. 10, "Order may be changed"; sec. 11, "How payment enforced"; sec. 12, "Costs."

Like the statutes of various other states, however, the Illinois law provides that "when persons become paupers from intemperance or other bad conduct, they shall not be entitled to support from any relative except parent or child."

<sup>2</sup> The states in which the poor laws contain provisions making members of the family legally liable to keep each other off the poor rates include the following: Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky (adult children), Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New

and parents, grandparents and grandchildren, and brothers and sisters to furnish support if one of them is in need and if any of them "be of sufficient ability."

#### ORIGIN OF LEGAL ENFORCEMENT OF DUTY TO SUPPORT

The relatives named in the Elizabethan act of 1601<sup>3</sup> were only the parents, grandparents, and children. In some states in the United States—for example, in Illinois as early as 1819—grandchildren were likewise named, and, later on, brothers and sisters. Several points should be noted in considering these sections of the poor law, whether English or American.

The connection of the legislation in the United States with the early English act is obvious. The origin of the sections of the poor law dealing with family responsibility was discussed in an early Connecticut case, Selectmen of Wethersfield v. Montague.4 Here the line of descent was clearly traced. The provisions of the Connecticut law, enacted in 1715,5 were said by the court to have been "copied from a Massachusetts statute passed in 1693," and the Massachusetts statute was described as having been "borrowed" from the provisions of the so-called "great poor law" of Elizabethan England. It is important to note the omission, since the enactment of these statutes, of any reference to the reciprocal duty of the husband and wife, and it should be remembered that in the earlier days the wife was incapable of performing any legal act, but the husband was under a legal and enforceable duty to support his wife. The difference between the duty of the husband to his wife and the duty of parents to their children is important in attempting to determine whether the provision for family responsibility is still an essential part of the statutory provisions regarding public assistance.

Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

The states in which such liability is not now provided by law include the following: Arizona, Arkansas, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Wyoming, and the District of Columbia.

<sup>3</sup> See 43 Eliz. c. 2, sec. 7.

<sup>4 3</sup> Connecticut 507 (1821).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Connecticut Colonial Records, V, 503; cited in E. W. Capen, The Poor Law of Connecticut, p. 74.

At common law, marriage made the wife legally incapable and laid on the husband the duty of supplying her with what the lawyers called "necessaries," that is, with those things that seemed essential for her existence and such other things as accorded with the standard of life he was able to maintain. If, without fault on her part, she lacked this support from her husband, a third person was given the right to supply her needs and collect the costs from the husband. It was therefore not necessary to name husband and wife in the statutory provisions for family responsibility in the poor law; and, under the theory of coverture prevailing at the time, it would have been futile to lay any duty on the wife.

The case of the father and child was different in the seventeenth century. The right of the father to his child was very much like that of an owner to a thing; but the child was not, like the wife, entirely incapable legally. The minor child was unable to make any final agreements or bind himself to fulfil any obligation except in obtaining "necessaries," the very things with which the husband had to supply the wife. The custody of the child belonged, with his earnings, to the father; but whether there was in England at that time an enforceable duty on the father to support his child has been questioned, and the English poor laws therefore made what probably was, three hundred years ago, a necessary provision regarding the enforcement of the duty of parents to support their children. Certainly there was at that time no legal duty except to the minor child, whose earnings belonged to the father, as did the earnings of the wife to the husband.<sup>6</sup>

Any uncertainty that may have existed in England in 1601, so far as the duty of the parent to the minor child is concerned, has been removed in England and may be said never to have prevailed widely in the United States. Such rights as the father enjoyed and such duties as he owed had reference only to the minor child. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> However, by the end of the eighteenth century, the English law had been well stated in an early English treatise as follows: "Parents are considered as bound in duty to maintain their children both by the law of nature and their own proper act in bringing them into the world by which they enter into a voluntary obligation, to endeavour as far as in them lies, that the life that they have imparted shall be supported and preserved." See The Laws of Women, also the Obligations of Parent and Child and the Condition of Minors (London, 1777), p. 349.

adult child owed no duty and could make no enforceable claim on the parent. Nor were brothers and sisters under any legal obligation to maintain or protect one another.

The Illinois Supreme Court, in a poor law decision of 1896, called attention both to the relation of the Illinois statute to the English act and to the fact that the English and American laws had had for their purpose the remedying of defects in the common law. The Illinois statute was said to stand "upon the same footing, as far as legal principle is involved," as the Elizabethan poor law. In discussing the question of the enforcement of family responsibility under the poor law, the Illinois court pointed out, that, although the duty of parents to provide for the maintenance of their children was a "principle of natural law," the common law, unlike the civil law, did not "fully enforce this mere moral obligation," since it only required parents to support their children until they reached the age of maturity; and the common law obligation did not "impose upon a child the legal duty of maintaining an infirm, aged or destitute parent."8 The theory of the Illinois court was that the English poor laws had been enacted9 to remedy such "defects in the common law." However, the Illinois court took note of the fact that the English poor law provided only that the parents and grandparents, and the children, "being of sufficient ability," should, "at their own charges, relieve and maintain" the poor relative who was unable to support himself; whereas the Illinois poor law, like those of many other American states, had changed the remedy provided by the English statute by making grandchildren responsible for their grandparents, and by extending liability to brothers and sisters—that is, by extending liability beyond the line of lineal consanguinity to collateral kindred.

The old legal theory of the family support sections of the poor law as stated by the Illinois court was that, although the duty of supporting the poor was a public duty, it was "not a purely public

<sup>7</sup> People v. James W. Hill, 163 Ill. 186 (1896).

<sup>8</sup> See Edwards v. Davis, 16 Johns. 281 (1819); Stone v. Stone, 32 Conn. 142 (1864); Dawson v. Dawson, 12 Iowa 512 (1861).

<sup>9</sup> The court refers to sec. 7 of 43 Elizabeth c. 2.

burden," and the Illinois poor law like the English poor law was based upon the principle that

the primary duty of affording support to a poor and helpless person rested on those upon whom, because of consanguinity, was imposed a natural and moral, though imperfect, duty to relieve and maintain, and that so long as such primary duty existed and could be enforced, the public should be exonerated from the burden.

The object of both the statute of Elizabeth and of the Illinois statute was said to be "to protect the public from loss occasioned by the neglect of a moral or natural duty imposed on individuals, and to do this by transforming the imperfect moral duty into a statutory and legal liability." What the court overlooked was the fact, well known to social workers, that the relatives were usually too poor to help, without sacrificing the immediate members of their families, and that, in consequence, poor and destitute people were also made to suffer from family dissension and controversy.

The family responsibility provisions of the Illinois statute had been challenged as unconstitutional<sup>11</sup> on the ground that this policy was "a plain attempt" on the part of the legislature "to impose upon one person a legal liability for the support of another where no such legal duty or liability existed at common law," and it was charged that this was "taking one man's property for the use of another

<sup>20</sup> The court said: "Within what degrees of consanguinity the primary liability shall be upon the relatives of the pauper, instead of upon the public, is largely a matter for legislative determination. Here the statute, which includes collateral relatives of the first degree, brothers and sisters, does not extend to such distant collateral relatives as that the courts could pronounce it unreasonable and void; and the statute operates generally and equally upon all persons within the State who fall within the relations and circumstances provided for therein" (People v. Hill, op. cil.).

"In a much more recent case (1930), the Indiana provisions for family responsibility were challenged as unconstitutional. See State v. Troxler et al., 202 Ind. 268 (1930); 173 N.E. 321, in which the parents defended an action brought to make them pay for the support of a son in the Indiana farm colony for the feeble-minded. In this case, one defense was that the law was unconstitutional on the ground that it was class legislation. The court, however, held that the law applied equally to all inmates of the institution under like circumstances, and that it was "a general law and of uniform operation." A similar case, Napa State Hospital v. Dasso (1908), 153 Calif. 698; 18 L.R.A. (N.S.) 643; 15 Ann. Cas. 910, discusses the California statute requiring compensation from the estates of persons confined in the state hospital for the insane. This act was also held to be constitutional.

without the owner's consent." But the court pointed out that there was

no perfect common law duty requiring even the parents to maintain their children beyond the period of their minority. In cases of poverty and inability to earn a livelihood the duty of such parents to support their children after the age of maturity, the duty of grandparents to maintain their grandchildren, and of children to supply the necessaries of life to their parents, were all mere moral and imperfect duties that the common law did not recognize and enforce.

And the court thought there was a moral duty imposed upon a man with "sufficient financial ability, consistently with his duty to himself and to others, to supply the necessaries of life to a brother or sister" who was in need.

Finally, the court held the law constitutional, and pointed out that the right of the legislature to "change an imperfect duty into a perfect duty, or even to create by statute a new legal liability," had been recognized "from time immemorial."

Attention has been called to the fact that the support of the wife and minor children does not, at the present time, depend upon the poor law, but is now, for the most part, dealt with under the law of domestic relations, which includes the law of husband and wife and the law of parent and child.

That is, the common law obligation of the husband to support his wife, while difficult of enforcement under the doctrine of "necessaries," has been strengthened by special acts in most of the states, and has not, since the early part of the nineteenth century, depended on the poor law. Similarly, the statutes dealing with "parent and child" strengthen the old common law obligation of the parents to support their minor children and provide for the support of minor children outside of the poor law.

But was there a common law responsibility on the part of the parent, not only for support but for the protection, education, and maintenance of a minor child? In one of the interesting early American cases in which this parent-child relation is discussed, the court held that the parent is bound "both by the laws of nature and the laws of the land" to provide for his minor children.<sup>12</sup> That is, it is im-

<sup>12</sup> Jefferson Township v. Letart Township, 3 Ohio 100 (1827). See also the later case of Pretzinger v. Pretzinger, 45 Ohio State Reports 452 (1887). Here the court said that "the duty of the father to provide reasonably for the maintenance of his minor children

portant to note that in 1601 there may have been a reason for including the provisions about parents and children and grandparents. because the law of domestic relations had not been definitely formulated, and rights in the family as well as in other relationships were, in general, "profitable rights." There is even a question as to whether or not at that time there was an enforceable duty resting on the father. It was more than a century later that Lord Eldon said in the great Wellesley case that while it was relatively easy to enforce the rights of fathers, it was very difficult to enforce their duties. 13 There was no question about the duty of the husband to support the wife, and the law of parent and child has been so revolutionized that there are many other ways of securing parental support for the minor child. The legal reason for retaining these provisions in the poor laws has, therefore, wholly ceased to exist. Therefore it may be said to be clearly established at the present time that the responsibility of parents for minor children would not be affected if the poor law provision for the responsibility of relatives were entirely abolished.

Before the enactment of the special domestic relations and parent and child statutes, the support of the wife and minor children in some states and territories was provided for under the early poor laws. In the Northwest Territory, for example, at the close of the eighteenth century, "the first Domestic Relations statute of the Territory was introduced as a part of the old poor law." That is,

<sup>....</sup> is a principle of natural law. And he is under obligation to support them, not only by the laws of nature, but by the laws of the land. As said by Chancellor Kent, 'The wants and weaknesses of the children render it necessary that some person maintain them, and the voice of nature has pointed out the parent as the most fit and proper person.' 2 Kent's Com. 190; and see Edwards v. Davis, 16 Johns. 281 (1819). This natural duty is not to be evaded by the husband's so conducting himself, as to render it necessary to dissolve the bonds of matrimony, and to give to the mother the custody and care of the infant offspring. It is not the policy of the law to deprive the children of their rights on account of the dissensions of their parents, to which they are not parties; or to enable the father to convert his own misconduct into a shield against parental liability."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See 2 Russell 1 (1827), conveniently reprinted in Grace Abbott, *The Child and the State*, I, 15-28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See The Ohio Poor Law and Its Administration, by Aileen E. Kennedy and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), chap. vii, "The

the Northwest Territory made statutory provision for the support of the wife and minor children, by making the family law of the Territory a part of the first territorial poor law.<sup>15</sup>

This early provision for family responsibility was not retained in the first of the new states admitted from the Territory. When the new state of Ohio changed the territorial poor law in 1805,<sup>16</sup> the support of dependent relatives was not provided for in the "new poor law" and did not reappear in the state of Ohio until nearly a century later, when adult children were required to provide for destitute parents, and failure to make such provision became a misdemeanor.<sup>17</sup> But this later provision for family responsibility in the state of Ohio has never been a part of the poor law.

By way of summary, it may be said that the duty of support that was laid upon the husband and father was, in an earlier period, designed to protect the community from the expense of supporting

Relation of the Family Law to the Poor Law," p. 56, for a very interesting discussion of poor law and common law responsibility for the support of the wife and minor children.

<sup>15</sup> Under this law, "the justices were authorized to receive the goods and chattels, the annual rents and profits of lands and tenements of such husband, father or mother for providing for the wife, who has been deserted, and for the maintaining and bringing up of such children as have been deserted. This was the first family law in the Territory." See *ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>16</sup> Ohio Laws, 3 V. 272 (1805), cited in Kennedy and Breckinridge.

17 Ohio Laws, 93 V. 114 (1898), cited in Kennedy and Breckinridge. But although the poor law of the nineteenth century did not include the prosecution of the members of the family for nonsupport, and did not "confer any right of action against individuals," in favor of townships that provided support for indigent persons, nevertheless it was held that a township which furnished necessaries to a wife whose husband was able to support her, could "recover the amount in an action of assumpsit, from the husband, in case he has driven her from his house by cruelty." See Howard v. Whetstone, 10 Ohio 365 (1841). Similarly, when relief was furnished to the wife of a man able to support her, but who had "abandoned her without cause, assumpsit may be maintained by the township, against the husband, to recover for the amount furnished." See Trustees of Springfield v. Demott, 13 Ohio 104 (1844). Recovery in these cases was said to be based on the principle that the township must relieve the suffering of a destitute person, resident or nonresident, but that an action might then be brought against the municipal authority of the poor person's place of settlement, or against an individual whose relation to the destitute person created a duty of furnishing aid. See Commissioners of Ashland County v. Directors of the Richland County Infirmary, 7 Ohio State Reports 69 (1857). The last case is conveniently reprinted in the Kennedy-Breckinridge volume, p. 142.

a destitute wife and minor children under the local poor law arrangements. At that time the only way a wife could secure support from the husband who had deserted her or ill-treated her was thought to be through prosecution under the poor law. But this is now changed in most of the states, and if the provisions for the prosecution of relatives were entirely removed from the poor law at the present time, the duty of parents to support their minor children and the husband's duty to support his wife would still be legal obligations set forth in the statutes usually entitled "nonsupport" and "abandonment," dealing, in general, with the subject of "husband and wife" and "parent and child."

# LITIGATION AND PROSECUTION TO ENFORCE THE DUTY TO SUPPORT

In recent years, litigation has most frequently arisen in order to compel adult children to support their parents, and there is every reason to believe that old age pension legislation is not changing this situation, since family responsibility is, unfortunately, still enforced in many states in connection with the new old age assistance program. In most of the cases of nonsupport that arise under the poor law, all of the relatives of a poor person who is in need of support are themselves persons of very small means. That is, even those who are not on relief, and those who have managed finally to keep above the margin, have very little, if anything, that can be properly spared to help the relatives who have finally "gone on relief." The enforcement of the "duty to support" is not an attempt to make the wellto-do support their poor relatives, but an order requiring those who have very little to help their relatives who have less, and who frequently have nothing at all. Helping the father or mother, who is probably past middle age and whether he is or is not old enough to be eligible for an old age pension, is not likely to have very much work, if any, in the future, means that something must be taken from the already meager family budget, frequently something that the children need. Sometimes the daughter-in-law is resentful when she knows that helping the husband's parent or parents means less milk for the children, or giving up a pair of shoes that a child needs to go properly to school. There may well be differences of opinion as to

whether people in this position should be called upon to help their poorer relatives. But certainly they should be allowed to make their own decision in this matter. That is, if there is any value in helping relatives under these circumstances, the help must surely be voluntary. Bringing families of this kind into court engenders ill-will among the different members of the group. Family ties are not strengthened by this procedure, but are sometimes permanently destroyed.

As a general thing, such prosecutions are much more common in urban communities than in small towns and rural areas. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that in the smaller community the extreme poverty of all members of the family concerned, even of those who are employed, is more easily visualized by those in authority, by those in charge of the public assistance program, by the state's attorney, and even by the county judge himself, than is the case in a large city.

In the state of Illinois, for example, the problem of enforcing family support through prosecution under the so-called "pauper law" is very different in Cook County, which includes the metropolitan area of Chicago, from what it is in the other down-state counties. In Cook County, under agreement with the county judge and the state's attorney, all cases of persons in need of support from relatives liable under the pauper act are referred first to the Court Service Division of the County Bureau of Public Welfare, which has, in recent years, dealt with something like 1,200 cases annually.<sup>18</sup> Only a small percentage of these cases are actually

A study of individuals whose relatives are asked to assist them has shown that they are, in general, elderly persons, about an equal number of men and women, more than

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Most of these cases are brought for parents against adult children, but in a few cases brothers and sisters, or grandparents, are the defendants. That is, as a general rule, the nonsupport action is used most frequently to compel support from younger persons for relatives who have reached the age when they are no longer able to care for themselves. In a comparatively few cases this law is used to secure support for minors, but usually in these cases the children's father has either died, or disappeared, and the action under the pauper law is to obtain support from grandparents. In some cases there is resentment and even vindictiveness on the part of the person in need of aid, and there have been mutual antagonisms created in the family group. There are cases where there has been divorce, desertion, or neglect on the part of the parent now asking contribution, and family quarrels of many kinds.

brought before the judge, since the court worker usually is able to bring about some agreement between the relatives, but the necessity of bringing them into the court at all is evidence of the continued use of a seventeenth-century provision.

In a recent study of the difference in procedure in the attempts to enforce the "family support" sections of the poor law between the metropolitan area (Chicago) and downstate, a letter of inquiry was addressed to the judge and county attorney of every county in Illinois, outside of Cook, asking whether or not during the preceding year action had been taken under the family responsibility sections of the pauper law, 19 and requesting a statement regarding the success of attempts to enforce these sections. A number of county judges expressed interesting opinions. For example, a county judge from one of the smaller counties in southern Illinois wrote that not only had no action against relatives been brought during his incumbency. but, although he had been a practicing attorney in the county for forty-nine years, he could not remember that he had ever known of such an action having ever been brought in that county. Some of the judges agreed with the point of view already expressed regarding the poverty of the members of the family. The county judge of Henderson County said that it was "somewhat difficult to enforce," since "ordinarily, a pauper's relatives are not very much better off than he is." The county judge of Pulaski County wrote as follows:

Within my recollection there has not been an action of this kind in this county; and I have been in close touch with the courts here for the past twenty years. The trouble is that in this poor county the relatives of destitute persons are in the same condition.

half of them widowed, and about 90 per cent over fifty years of age. Generally they are without property, although some owned property from which no income was being received, and others might own property that would supply shelter and the necessary additional income was being sought. See Nancy Moir, "The Illinois Poor Law: The Administration of the Family Responsibility Sections in Cook County" (unpublished A.M. thesis. School of Social Service Administration. University of Chicago, 1035).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> See S. P. Breckinridge, *The Illinois Poor Law*. Replies from 72 of the 101 downstate counties showed 64 in which no action to enforce support from relatives under the poor law had been taken during the year, although in 10 of them action had been threatened. In 14 counties, action had been brought in earlier years. In only 10 counties had any action under the family responsibility sections been taken during the year.

The county judge of Sangamon County made the following statement:

We have had two or three of these cases in this court and find it very difficult to make an equitable order and enforce it, as we often find the relatives quite scattered and with sufficient income only to take care of their immediate needs. Through these actions there is very little, if any, relief for the taxpayer, and little accomplished in the way of a higher standard of life for the poor person.

The county judge of Clay County said he was of the opinion that if an attempt were made to enforce the family responsibility sections of the poor law, "the public would demand its repeal, inasmuch as it cannot be enforced against children who reside outside the state." The county judge of De Witt County wrote that in many cases of this kind there developed

a considerable feeling of hatred, as in some instances a relative who has saved and accumulated is compelled to pay, while some other relative of equal degree in relationship is unable to pay due to lack of funds or property, which sometimes is directly the fault of such kin of no ability to pay.

Some of the local state's attorneys also wrote interesting letters. For example, the state's attorney for one county said that no action under the family responsibility sections of the poor law had been taken during the two years that he had been state's attorney, because

so often the poor person requiring help has no relatives who are really able to support him, and quite frequently while all the relatives might be able to give some support, it is quite difficult to prove this, especially during the past few years, as so many people have been insolvent or so near insolvency it would be hard to prove that they could give aid.

In another county, the state's attorney reported only one action of this kind during a period of sixteen years. His comment was that from the experience of that county in this particular case

this method of care for destitute kin is unsatisfactory. In my opinion the theory is good, but the results obtained by an attempted enforcement of the Act are not worth the effort and do not tend to put the poor kin on any higher elevation of living. Too, the costs of enforcing this Act should not be overlooked; in my opinion, based on investigations and limited efforts at enforcement, the costs in an average case will almost equal the benefits obtained.

In a county in which a large industrial city was located, the state's attorney reported that the records showed there had been thirty-two cases involving the support of parents, handled through the state's attorney's office in a period of five years, and he considered the law "practically unworkable." He thought that the reason

the person obligated does not do his share is that he has been unemployed, or the remuneration from his employment has been only enough to keep his own body and soul together. We find it costs us a considerable amount of money to take a case of this kind into court, and the taxpayer usually pays for that.

The moral obligation that lies upon everyone to help the members of his own family is universally recognized; and the importance of maintaining family ties is accepted as a fundamental principle of human relations by all social workers. But long experience has shown that such relationships and such moral obligations cannot be strengthened by statutory enactments and public prosecution of those who are believed to have been delinquent in their moral obligations. A social worker makes every effort to persuade relatives to help when they are able to give assistance. This is, primarily, because it is important to bring the members of the family together to strengthen one another, not merely financially, but, what is more important in the long run, in other ways than financial. In these families, however, there is not likely to be any member who is really well-to-do, and any help that is given must be small in amount and must often mean a serious sacrifice in the home from which it comes. It is questionable whether family conflicts, such as are involved in the refusal of the daughter-in-law to help the husband's aged parents, or the assistance unwillingly given by the son-in-law to the wife's father or mother, are worth what they cost. The position of these old people, whose children are sometimes brought into a county court and ordered to make the grudging contributions to the support of their ailing or aged parents, is not an enviable one. Nor is such a contribution, even when ordered by the court, maintained for a long period of time. It is, in fact, doubtful whether such contributions in the long run bring in enough money to cover the costs of the court proceedings and the time of the representatives of the relief agencies who have been responsible for the proceedings. The present laws prescribe expensive litigation which is very often painful to the poor person who is in need of help, and which, instead

of yielding any returns in family solidarity, often destroys such good will among the members of the family as formerly existed, and leads many thoughtful observers to believe that all legal provision for such prosecutions may well be dropped from the new social welfare statutes dealing with public assistance.

## WHAT CONSTITUTES "SUFFICIENT ABILITY"?

The provision usually found in the family responsibility sections of the poor law is that the duty of support shall be enforced in the case of relatives having "sufficient ability." There are, however, grave difficulties in determining what constitutes "sufficient ability." Not only county judges and state's attorneys, but the higher courts in many of the states have struggled to arrive at a satisfactory interpretation of this term. The difficulty in the attempted enforcement of this provision is well set forth in an early New England case<sup>20</sup> in which a son was sued by the town of Dover because his father was "a pauper," "standing in need of relief." The town of Dover had furnished him with supplies and then brought suit against the son to recover the value of the supplies. The son, who was in feeble health and had four children to provide for, was in debt and had property of very little value. The question was whether he was of "sufficient ability" to support the father "without embarrassing himself, or affecting the comfortable subsistence of his family." The court pointed out that the statute was silent as to what constituted "sufficient ability," and added that it would have been "difficult, if not impossible," to prescribe

a safe and certain rule by which the ability of individuals might have been in all cases properly determined. It is a question which in its nature must depend on divers circumstances perpetually varying in all the different cases; and must, to a certain extent, be left to be settled according to the circumstances of each case.

The court then proceeded to an interesting discussion of the whole subject of family support, pointing out that there are some men who possess ample fortunes and whose ability to maintain their poor relations cannot be doubted—men to whom it would be a disgrace to see those who stand in the relations to them mentioned in the statute maintained by towns. There

<sup>20</sup> Dover v. McMurphy, 4 N.H. 158 (1827).

are other men, of fortunes so slender, and of means to maintain themselves so precarious, that our feelings would revolt at seeing the burden of supporting their poor relations thrown upon them. In cases of these classes, the question of ability is easily settled.

#### The court also found

a numerous class of men in the community who are neither poor nor rich; who are in moderate circumstances; who are able in a fortunate season to add something to their estates, but who are liable in another season to fall behindhand by reason of sickness or other misfortune; and with respect to individuals of this class it is often difficult to say whether they are, or are not, of sufficient ability.

The court then considered the case of the individual who could not, "by the income of his property, with his own labor and that of his family, maintain himself and family, pay the interest of his debts and maintain the poor relation." In this case, if he were compelled to furnish support to the relative, he must inevitably "become annually poorer." "And the natural tendency of throwing the burthen upon him, under such circumstances, is to dishearten and discourage him, to break down his spirit, to reduce him to poverty, and in the end to throw him upon the town for support." This, the court said, was "contrary to sound policy and the spirit of the statute." For the object of this provision in the statute was said to be to "lighten the burthens of towns" and if the statute were so interpreted that its enforcement tended to "increase the number of paupers," the "true intent" of the statute would be defeated.

In the case under discussion, the court thought that to charge the son with the support of the parent was "too severe," since it subjected "all his net annual income to the maintenance of his relations," and "to a man with a family, to be educated and settled in life, and with a small farm not sufficient to support him without his labor," this policy seemed very severe. Therefore the court refused to approve the rule proposed by the plaintiff's counsel—"to subject to this liability all a man's estate except what may be sufficient for his support during his life"—because that would "tend to increase the burthens thrown upon towns rather than relieve them—and because it would be impracticable to apply such a rule with any certainty."

Nearly twenty-five years later, another New Hampshire court<sup>21</sup> reviewed again the "vague and uncertain conjecture" that surrounded the question as to what relatives were able to furnish support. The court again asked what constituted being "able" and held that the support of poor relatives must not "endanger a man's ability to support himself and his family," and must not go so far as to "take away the natural inducements to lay aside savings for the benefit of one's old age, or for the rewarding of good children."

Quite recently the attorney-general of Illinois attempted to interpret for a middle western state in the twentieth century the provisions in the state poor law regarding family responsibility for destitute relatives. Of special importance is his discussion of the question, "What constitutes 'sufficient ability'?" A local county judge had asked whether the relatives were liable for the support of a divorced woman with four children, under circumstances which he set forth. He had found that the maternal grandfather was dead, that neither of the grandmothers had any property, and that the mother of the children was "in very poor circumstances." He found that the evidence showed that the paternal grandfather had "less than four hundred dollars worth of personal property"; that he owned no real estate, but that he had a future interest in the farm on which he was living, in which the mother owned the life-estate. In the preceding year this paternal grandfather had earned about \$120 and the year before about \$160 during the threshing season; and he was expected during the year under consideration to earn again the sum of \$120 which he had earned the preceding year. The attorney-general summarized the findings in this case as follows:

The grandfather, in my opinion, earns scarcely enough to provide for himself and wife, and owns less than four hundred dollars worth of personal property. . . . . It is, therefore, my opinion that the grandfather in this case is not of sufficient ability to be held liable for the support or partial support of the grandchildren.

The wasteful litigation arising from controversies regarding support by relatives is illustrated in a recent Iowa case, *Cherokee County* v. *Smith*, 219 Iowa 490. Here the parents of an adult were sued by

<sup>21</sup> Colebrook v. Stewartstown, 30 N.H. (10 Foster) 9 (1854), 64 Am. Dec. 275.

the county to recover the sum of \$55, which had been expended for the support of the son and his family by the overseer of the poor of Cherokee County, who had paid the rent of the house from which the landlord proposed to evict the adult son and his family because of inability to pay the rent. The case finally went to the district court and was tried by a jury. The parents claimed, first, that the son had never applied for relief and, therefore, they, his parents, were not liable. But the court held that since the owner of the house had told the overseer that the son and his family were to be evicted if the rent were not paid, and since the overseer had acted to prevent the eviction of the family, this was equivalent to an application for aid.<sup>22</sup>

The parents also claimed, as a defense, that the son was "not a poor person" under the statutory definition. But the Supreme Court pointed out that the statutory definition of a poor person as one who "had no property" and was "unable because of physical or mental disabilities to earn a living by labor" was modified by a further statutory provision which said that "this section shall not be construed to forbid aid to needy persons who have some means, when the board shall be of opinion that the same will be conducive to their welfare and the best interests of the public."

Finally, after the district court had decided that the parents must pay the \$55, appeal was taken to the Supreme Court and this court considered the claim that there had been no evidence that the parents really were able to support the son and his family. The court carefully reviewed the family responsibility sections of the poor law and reached the not very helpful conclusion that "the burden was on the appellee to prove appellant's ability to render the support for which the county now seeks to recover," and, since "there was no evidence as to such ability on the part of the appellants," the judgment of the district court was reversed and the county was not able to collect \$55 after the time of the courts, county attorney and other attorneys, jury, judges, attendance of poor

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The Supreme Court said that the poor law "was enacted for a humane purpose," and the legislature did not intend "that the poor should be allowed to suffer because some technical mode of procedure was followed. . . . . Such payment cannot now be questioned on the ground that no application was made to the Township trustees."

law officer as witness, had all carefully considered and prepared elaborate legal opinions, not about whether Bob Smith and his family were being properly cared for, but whether the \$55 could be collected from his parents—all of which cost the taxpayers of Cherokee County much more than the \$55 their officials tried to collect.

The wasteful litigation of more than one hundred years supports the demand that all legal provisions that authorize family prosecution to enforce the duty to support should be dropped from any new social welfare statutes dealing with public assistance.

Relatively few of the family support controversies reach the higher courts. While settlement controversies are found in the reports of the higher courts almost continuously since the earliest days, family support cases are found much less frequently, except those involving family quarrels, such as support of an adult son or daughter by a parent who has been divorced, and is perhaps brought into court at the request of the other parent, or some other controversy between husband and wife which could now, in most states, be more properly dealt with by the law of domestic relations than by the poor law.

The reason the family support cases involving really destitute people do not go to the higher courts is that county judges do not encourage the bringing of these cases into court, and when these cases are heard by the county judge, he frequently enters an order for support issued against the member or members of the family involved, each one of whom may be assessed a small amount of money—one or two dollars a month or even less. These people cannot possibly afford to retain a lawyer and appeal these cases. They accept the decision and then payment is often not made and nothing is done about it.

The settlement controversies, however, go easily and quickly to the higher courts, since only the public funds are involved. A county attorney contesting a settlement controversy with the attorney who represents another county is only too quick, in case of defeat, to appeal the case promptly to a higher court. The expenses of his office are paid from public funds, and as the legal proceedings drag along the cost of these controversies is paid only by the long-suffer-

ing taxpayer. But in the case of the family support controversies, some individual, and usually a poor individual, would be obliged to carry the expense of the prolonged appeals involved. While the digests cite a good many family support cases, a study of these cases seems to indicate that they are largely concerned with the domestic relations of people who are not destitute, who can afford to pay the cost of lawyers' services and court appeals, and whose cases can be, at the present time, much more effectively handled through the law of domestic relations than through the poor law.

An interesting illustration of the family support cases that are appealed to the higher courts is a New England case, Town of Plymouth v. Hey, 285 Mass. 357 (1934), that seemed to have come directly from the seventeenth or eighteenth century.23 The question in this case was whether the town of Plymouth was to be charged with the care of a little girl whose grandfather was apparently able to support her but had left her "on the town." But the real question at issue here was the status of an illegitimate child. The little girl's mother was dead, and the lower court held that her mother's father could not be compelled to furnish assistance to his daughter's child when the child was illegitimate. In that case, in the language of the lawyers for the defendant, the child was really filius nullius, and the court held that since at common law "an illegitimate child was regarded as the child of no one," the grandfather could not be charged with liability for her support. The Massachusetts court went back to the colonial law of the seventeenth century and found that the family responsibility section of the poor law had been enacted in the year 1692, and the status of the illegitimate child at that time was described briefly: "An illegitimate child can be the heir of no one. . . . . He has no ancestors."24 Although the poor law had been changed at later periods, the family responsibility section had remained substantially the same during a period of nearly two

centuries and a half. Earlier decisions of the court were cited to show

that an illegitimate child was not entitled to a share of the mother's

<sup>23</sup> This case has been conveniently reprinted in Grace Abbott, *The Child and the State*,
II, 548.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> J. Knowlton cited Sanford v. Marsh. 180 Mass. 210 (1902); see also Kent v. Barker, 68 Mass. 535 (1854), and Gibson, Appellant, 154 Mass. 378 (1801).

estate if she died intestate, and if unintentionally omitted in the will of the mother, such a child had no remedy.

Certainly the reasoning and even the language of the court seem to belong rather to the year 1692 than to the year 1938. But has not the time come, even in Massachusetts, when a public welfare question of this kind should be decided on the basis of the needs and welfare of the dependent child, instead of taking the time of courts and lawyers of many varieties, only to arrive at a seventeenth-century interpretation of the status of an illegitimate child? This does not show the value of family prosecution under the poor law, but shows rather the need of a modern law dealing with the rights of the illegitimate child. Public funds can be spent more usefully than for the support of such controversies under an archaic poor law, and a good public welfare bureau administered by trained workers is more useful than distinguished lawyers and courts who go back to the seventeenth century to find out what should be done with a dependent child, legitimate or illegitimate.

Finally, the question for those responsible for the public welfare program to consider is whether the attempt at legal enforcement of responsibility for relatives is worth what it costs in the extensive and wasteful use of the courts and other legal machinery and in the illwill that is the legacy of the family controversies that are brought to a hearing before public officials and in open court. While it is often argued that the public prosecutions of relatives mean a substantial saving of relief funds and, therefore, a lightening of the tax burden, the saving, if there is any, is almost negligible. The cost of enforcement through this machinery is not easy to estimate, but undoubtedly the expense of bringing the member of the family to court, the court expenses, and the cost of collecting the small contributions usually assessed, absorb the greater part of the contributions. In so far as money is collected from very poor relatives harm has undoubtedly been done. As far as the occasional well-to-do relative is concerned, this person would, in the long run, pay as a taxpayer, since what the relatives do not pay the taxpayers will. The situation is not different from that regarding the collection of fees from children who attend our public schools. In the old days, when it was proposed to abolish school fees, it was a common objection that

parents who were able to pay for the schooling of their children should continue to pay instead of having the entire cost of education placed on the taxpayers. But, as the new plan ultimately worked out, well-to-do parents paid, as taxpayers, for the support of the educational system a great deal more, in proportion, than they paid in the old days for school fees.

If the poor laws are to be written in the light of modern social welfare theories, any attempt to enforce by legal machinery the responsibility of relatives, one of the surviving provisions of the sixteenth-century poor law system, should be completely abolished.

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## PUBLIC WELFARE ORGANIZATION IN CANADA<sup>1</sup>

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#### THE SCOPE OF PUBLIC WELFARE IN CANADA

T PRESENT the central problem of public welfare organization in Canada is the question of the responsible branch of government—Dominion, province, or municipality.<sup>2</sup> This paper will be concerned chiefly with the distribution of welfare functions between the Dominion and the provinces, with some attention being paid to the distribution between the province and its local authorities. In addition, it will touch briefly upon the question of Dominion and provincial administrative machinery. Major problems will be outlined under these two headings, distribution of functions and administrative organization, and an attempt will be made to throw out some suggestions and questions regarding future policy.

Since the term "public welfare" is used loosely in Canada, it is necessary to set up a working definition. For the purposes of this paper public welfare will be taken to include those services of government that may be described separately as public assistance (unemployment and poor relief, "pensions" and "allowances," medical services and hospitalization, etc., granted to destitute persons after application of a means test); child welfare; mental hygiene (mental hospitals, institutions for mental defectives, psychiatric clinics, etc.); corrections (jails, industrial schools, probation services, etc.); and public health (including tuberculosis and venereal disease control and general preventive medicine). The term "health and welfare" is frequently used to describe this broad sector of public administration, particularly by those who do not agree that public health should be included under the general heading "public welfare." However, considerations of time and space preclude lingering here

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A revision of a paper presented to the Fifth Canadian Conference on Social Work, June, 1937.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It will be convenient to use this term with the meaning "local authority" in the following pages—that is to say, counties, townships, cities, towns, school boards and other forms of local government.

over a difficult problem of terminology. The broad definition which has been given is offered simply for purposes of this paper.

Public welfare is a huge enterprise in the Canada of today. Unfortunately (and this is a commentary on Canadian backwardness in this field) we lack accurate figures on persons under care and on costs. However, we know that at the bottom of the late depression, in the winter of 1934, some 2,000,000 persons, or about 19 per cent of our population, were public dependents, supported by unemployment relief, poor relief, mothers' allowances, old age pensions, etc., or maintained in institutions at public expense. At present (June, 1938) the number must be at least 1,200,000, or 11 per cent of the population. Complete and reasonably accurate figures for one province, British Columbia, show that the average number of public dependents in 1937 (not including Indians or war pensioners) was approximately 100,000, or 13.6 per cent of the non-Indian population. It is probably conservative to state that, even if we have reasonably good economic conditions, we face a continuing load of public dependency that will be not less than 10 per cent of our total population.

The annual cost of public welfare in Canada may be estimated at some \$250,000,000.3 This amount does not include about \$45,000,000 per annum which is spent on war veterans' pensions and medical care. The annual outlay on public welfare represents about 25 per cent of our total cost of government.

In view of such volume of service and large expenditures, the people of Canada are becoming increasingly concerned about public welfare. From those who speak for the taxpayers there is much complaint, as in the United States, that the costs are far too high. While many of the criticisms from conservative sources are unfair and while the costs of really adequate public welfare services might be even higher than our present bills, there is every reason to believe that expenditures are excessive for the service which the people now obtain. At present, it must be said frankly, public welfare in Canada is a long way from being operated efficiently and economically.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Based upon analysis of Dominion, provincial, and municipal financial reports by the writer and other estimates.

A major source of our weakness is the existing unsatisfactory distribution of functions, responsibilities and costs between our three branches of government, the Dominion, the provinces, and the municipalities. These are divided according to no generally accepted or indeed legally fixed principles, and there is acute controversy between the three branches of government as to how much in the way of service and expenditure each ought to provide.4 So long as this controversy exists there is little disposition on the part of Canadian governmental bodies to tackle effectively problems of internal organization and administration. But until the machinery of public welfare is thoroughly overhauled and modernized, with "temporary" services either abolished or made permanent, with all the parts co-ordinated and integrated, and with policies of relative permanence established, we can expect neither efficiency nor economy in operation. For such reasons, it may be repeated, the central problem of public welfare organization today is the question of the responsible branch of government.

#### THE PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS

A large part of our difficulty regarding the distribution of welfare functions as between the Dominion and the provinces arises from the fact that the Fathers of Confederation, when they reached agreement upon the terms of union and undertook to formulate our federal Constitution, were almost totally unconcerned with public welfare. In so far as they recognized at all that welfare services were necessary, they must have presumed that they would be granted mainly by the local authorities, as had been done in Great Britain since the days of Elizabeth's Poor Law. Public welfare is nowhere mentioned explicitly in the British North America Act, and those sections which do serve to define the respective jurisdictions of the Dominion and the provinces in this field seem to us strangely unrelated, in language and in terms of the meaning they must have had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The proper distribution of public welfare functions and financial responsibilities is one of the major problems now under consideration by the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations. Submissions to the Commission from governmental and nongovernmental bodies throughout Canada have shown as never before the great diversity of opinion on the subject.

to the Fathers of Confederation, to our modern social service prob-

In section 91 of the British North America Act, certain subsections grant power to the Dominion government to undertake welfare activities. These subsections are: 10 (navigation and shipping), 11 (quarantine and marine hospitals), 26 (marriage and divorce), 27 (the criminal law), and 28 (penitentiaries). In addition, the Dominion Parliament is empowered "to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Canada in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the province"—an omnibus clause that has been used recently to justify Dominion action in the field of unemployment relief.

Section 92 of the Act gives to the provinces certain powers to legislate on matters of public welfare. The chief subsections which confer these powers, implicitly if not always explicitly, are, 6 (establishment of public and reformatory prisons in and for the province), 7 (establishment of hospitals, asylums, charities and eleemosynary institutions), 8 (municipal institutions), 12 (solemnization of marriage), 13 (property and civil rights), and 14 (administration of justice in the province including the constitution of provincial courts).

From these and other provisions of the British North America Act it appears that the Dominion is responsible only for welfare services to certain special classes who are clearly its wards, such as war veterans, Indians, prisoners in penitentiaries, and sailors and passengers arriving from foreign ports; for legislation in the realm of criminal law and marriage and divorce law; and for certain unspecified services that may be considered "for the peace, order and good government of Canada." To the province is left everything else, including the relief of destitution, public health and medical services, mental hygiene, and corrections. While the distribution of duties is by no means clearly defined, it appears to be a basic principle of our constitution that major responsibility for public welfare shall be assumed by the provinces and that they will work out with the municipalities detailed arrangements for administration.

But the actual practice differs from the principle. In recent years,

A few notable extensions of Dominion action during recent years may be noted. In 1919 there was established the Department of Health, which in 1929 was made part of the Department of Pensions and National Health. Under this department previously existing Dominion health services have been grouped, along with certain new activities. The department also administers all services for war veterans and their dependents. As might have been expected, the Dominion has established a comprehensive system of pensions for veterans of the World War. But it has gone beyond this, as under the War Veterans' Allowances Act of 1930, to provide social assistance to certain classes of veterans, and has also adopted other measures to meet problems of the veterans which can be attributed only partially, if at all, to their absence from civilian life on war service.

By adoption of the Old Age Pension Act of 1927, the Dominion entered the field of social assistance on a large scale. The Act provided that the federal government would contribute half the costs of allowances granted under provincial statutes to needy persons over seventy years of age. In 1931 the Dominion contribution was raised to 75 per cert. In 1937 another needy class, the blind, was

brought within the scope of the Old Age Pension Act. During the post-war decade the federal government made grants to the provinces to assist them in the control of venereal disease. Grants-in-aid to the provinces toward technical education and the operation of public employment offices were also made during the same period.

But the most notable assumption of new responsibilities by the Dominion has come during the recent years of depression, with the successive unemployment relief acts from 1930 up to the present, authorizing grants of money to the provinces to assist them in meeting the costs of unemployment relief and also authorizing certain direct measures of assistance to the unemployed. It is worthy of particular note that in certain respects Dominion measures have gone beyond grants-in-aid to the provinces. During the years 1932-36 the federal government assumed practically complete responsibility for the care of physically fit homeless men, first in subsistence camps in the western provinces during 1932-33 and then during 1933-36 in camps operated by the departments of national defense and interior. There was a change in policy in 1936, whereby the Dominion endeavored to create employment for homeless men, either through direct arrangements with the railways or through provincially administered farm placement and public works schemes.

Let us turn next to consider briefly the present distribution of welfare functions between the provinces and the municipalities. This has been worked out through a process of gradual adjustment to changing needs and circumstances. Since the municipality is in law the creature of the province, subject to obligations imposed by the provincial legislature, there have been no constitutional barriers to stand in the way of periodical redistribution of welfare functions between these two branches of government.

In their early years the provincial governments made little provision for public welfare beyond enacting poor law statutes, as in the Maritimes, to throw responsibility upon the local authorities, or by writing broad and general provisions into their municipal acts, as in British Columbia, where it is provided that each municipality shall "make make suitable provision for its poor and destitute." As time went on they also enacted statutes to authorize or to require the local authorities to carry on certain elementary public health

services. The need to confine or restrain certain persons led to the establishment of jails and insane asylums. By the end of the nine-teenth century it had become apparent that certain specialized services besides undifferentiated poor relief, elementary sanitary inspection, and institutions of confinement were needed. Hence the provinces established mental hospitals, reformatories, tuberculosis hospitals, homes for the aged and infirm, child welfare services, medical inspection of schools, etc., or alternatively arranged to contribute part of the costs of such services operated by municipalities or private associations.

In the post-war period there came schemes of mothers' pensions and old age pensions administered by the provincial governments. In some cases municipalities made financial contributions toward these schemes and, as we have seen, the Dominion assumed a large part of the costs of old age pensions. During the same period there were substantial health developments, with venereal disease clinics, tuberculosis clinics, public health nursing, and other new services being established, partly under provincial and partly under municipal auspices. Heavy demands for relief made by the unemployed upon the municipalities, first during the post-war depression of the early 1920's, and then during the great depression of the 1930's, led to the general adoption of provincial grants-in-aid to the municipalities to assist them in meeting the costs of unemployment relief. During the last few years the provinces have been forced more and more into the business of unemployment relief, so that in some instances, as in the case of Ontario's bankrupt municipalities, the drought areas of Saskatchewan, and homeless men in the west, the provincial governments have taken over responsibility for both administration and finance.

From this it appears that the provinces have gradually assumed full responsibility for the operation of important public welfare services and that in addition they have come to share substantially in the costs of services still administered locally. As in the case of the Dominion government, pressure of circumstances has forced the different provincial governments to enter the business of public welfare upon a large scale. Naturally the results of this tendency are not the same in all provinces. Each province has its own system or

lack of system whereby welfare functions are distributed between province and local authority. There is much that is illogical or inconsistent in the arrangements that have grown up within the various provinces. For example, in most of them there are criss-crossing financial relationships, with the province contributing toward the costs of municipally operated services, and the municipalities meeting some charges in connection with provincially administered services. In no province has the distribution of functions been worked out according to any principle or plan of general application. Typically the final result represents the accumulation of temporary expedients to meet specific problems.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

We may turn now to examine administrative organization on the different levels of government. Beginning at the top, we find that public welfare functions are performed by several different Dominion departments. The Department of Labour administers unemployment relief. Services for war veterans and their dependents and a limited range of general health services come under the Department of Pensions and National Health. The Department of Finance administers the Old Age Pension Act. Penitentiaries, marriage and divorce law, and the Criminal Code (including the Federal Juvenile Delinquents' Act) are the concern of the Department of Justice. Social services for Indians and for residents of the territories come under the Department of Mines and Resources. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Trade and Commerce collects social statistics. There is no machinery to correlate these scattered administrative activities, nor is there even an office in any department to collect and distribute information on the public welfare activities of the Dominion and the provinces.

Administrative organization on the provincial level shows considerable variation from province to province. In British Columbia unemployment relief comes under the Department of Labour; the Attorney-General's Department appoints juvenile-court judges and exercises a loose supervision over juvenile courts; and an independent commission, the Workmen's Compensation Board, administers old age pensions. The remaining health and welfare services are ad-

ministered by the Department of the Provincial Secretary which,

however, also has certain functions other than health and welfare to perform.

Moving eastward, we find that there are departments of health in all the other provinces. These departments in Ontario, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, and Prince Edward Island are concerned mainly with clear-cut health functions such as tuberculosis control. venereal disease control, vital statistics, public health nursing, and sanitary control. However, in Manitoba, Quebec, Alberta, and Nova Scotia the departments of health also administer mothers' pensions, child welfare, and mental hospitals. In Ontario there has been for some years a Department of Public Welfare, which, in 1937, was placed under the same deputy minister as the Department of Municipal Affairs, evidently for purposes of co-ordination. Under the Ontario Public Welfare Department we find unemployment relief, old age pensions, mothers' pensions, child welfare, and industrial schools.

Unemployment relief is linked with the other welfare services nowhere except in Ontario and in Saskatchewan. In Alberta it is administered under the Department of Municipal Affairs; in Manitoba it is closely associated with labor and public works; in Quebec it comes under the Department of Labour; in Nova Scotia under highways and labor; and in New Brunswick under public works. In several of the provinces unemployment relief has been transferred from one department to another or has been administered by temporary committees of cabinet ministers and civil servants, not responsible to any regular department of government. It appears to have had its closest affinities with departments of labor and public works rather than with departments of health and welfare.

From this it appears that there is nothing like uniformity of public welfare organization in the different provinces. In most of them public welfare functions are performed by several different departments of government. Public welfare is new, and the different services that may be classified under this general heading have not been recognized as having such close relations that they should be grouped together, for administrative purposes, either under one department

or under two or three that are closely co-ordinated.

Municipal organization for public welfare is also quite diversified and is, indeed, relatively undeveloped. In many cities, after all these years of depression, there is still no clear-cut, relatively permanent bureau or department even to administer home relief. Only a few cities have established public welfare departments with comprehensive functions.

#### PROBLEMS OF DISORGANIZATION

An attempt to describe public welfare organization in Canada, such as has been made above, does not lead to a very encouraging conclusion. Indeed the candid student of the present scene must state that there is more of disorder than of order, more of hodge-podge than of neat and tidy arrangement. Many of our most serious problems arise largely from this state of disorganization. A number of these, which appear to be inherent in the present situation, are listed below.

- 1. There is great variation in the nature and the quality of welfare services from province to province and even from municipality to municipality.—For example, some provinces do not have psychiatric clinics; juvenile courts do not function in all our cities; our public tuberculosis services are very uneven. It is notorious that all during the depression relief scales and methods of dealing with unemployment relief recipients have varied enormously from one part of the country to another.
- 2. The existing distribution of welfare functions lays upon our provinces and municipalities very unequal financial burdens.—Those municipalities with working-class populations, such as the suburban districts on the fringes of Montreal, Toronto, Windsor, Winnipeg, and Vancouver have had extremely heavy demands for relief made upon them at the very time when their capacity for raising funds by taxation was much less than that of their more prosperous neighbors. Likewise the western provinces, particularly Saskatchewan and Manitoba, have felt the effects of depression since 1929 far more seriously than Ontario and Quebec and would have found it quite impossible to meet the greatly increased demands for welfare services without emergency assistance from the Dominion government to deal with unemployment and farm relief.

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4. The machinery of public welfare organization on all three levels of Canadian government is very weak.—With public welfare functions distributed among several federal departments unity and coherence of policy can scarcely be expected. Division of functions between different provincial departments stands in the way of coherent policy, co-ordination of services, effective control of municipal social services, and efficient administration in general. While the provinces and municipalities have improved their machinery considerably during the last few years, progress has been far too slow. A major reason for delay in administrative reorganization has been the reluctance of provinces and municipalities to set up permanent welfare machinery until after settlement of the burning question of distribution of welfare functions as between the three branches of government. The provinces and municipalities have persisted in hoping (if not believing) that their public welfare worries were largely temporary and that before long they would be assumed by a senior branch of government.

5. There has been poor co-ordination of welfare services as between the Dominion and the provinces and as between the provinces and the municipalities.—For example, the failure of the Dominion government to control tuberculosis among Indians has handicapped the western provinces considerably in their efforts to limit tuberculosis among their own residents. The removal of indigent patients from general hospitals and provincial institutions is frequently delayed because municipal social services are too poorly developed to deal effectively with them after discharge. Unemployment relief policies have been formulated and applied by the Dominion and by the provinces that have been inconsistent with child welfare and delinquency programs operated by progressive local authorities. Many examples, taken from all parts of Canada, might be quoted to show how the welfare programs of Dominion, province, and municipality have been, all too frequently, badly out of step with each other, with consequent losses in money and in social results.

6. There has been a gross lack of anything that could be called a national welfare policy.—While the Dominion has given much in the way of money, particularly toward unemployment relief, it has not done much as yet to encourage and to assist the provinces and municipalities to build up really efficient public welfare services or to co-ordinate the work of all three branches of government.

#### THE REDISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS

How shall these serious problems be solved? How shall the functions of public welfare be redistributed, and how shall we construct public welfare machinery competent to deal effectively with the huge demands to be made upon it? These are large questions to which simple answers cannot be given. But there are some conclusions that begin to emerge out of our experience in public welfare administration in Canada, and the writer believes that it is possible to sketch the outlines of a satisfactory policy. Some principles are suggested below upon which decisions regarding the redistribution of welfare functions between our three branches of government might be based. Six principles may be mentioned, as follows:

1. There should be due consideration of the capacity of the respective branches of government to meet the costs of the public welfare functions they are to assume.—It is no use imposing heavy welfare burdens upon municipalities that are bankrupt or nearly bankrupt. In the same way, it is impossible to expect drought-stricken Saskatchewan to assume the same financial obligations as wealthy Ontario. We

must recognize that all municipalities in a province are not equally prosperous nor are all provinces equally wealthy. As a general rule, therefore, we must not impose welfare burdens upon the municipalities or the provinces which the weaker ones among them are unable to bear.<sup>5</sup> For, if that is done, there is sure to be a breakdown in the scheme of things, with the senior branches of government being forced to grant extraordinary financial assistance.

2. The chief spending authority should be, as a general rule, also the administrative authority.—It is not sound practice for a municipality to administer funds supplied wholly or largely by a province. Nor can it be considered satisfactory for a province to spend money provided mainly by the Dominion government. Carelessness, at the best, and profligacy, at the worst, may be expected under such circumstances.

3. The branch of government responsible for a given service should be in a position to deal constructively with the problems which that service is designed to meet.—It is clearly impossible for any one province to strike at the roots of unemployment. For similar reasons, no small municipality can control communicable diseases. The welfare problems to be handled by the provinces and the municipalities should be of such a nature that they can do effective work to prevent their occurrence. Problems which are national in scope, such as unemployment, require national services to deal with them, while others may only require services organized on a provincial or even a local scale.

4. Welfare functions should be assigned to the branch of government that can administer them most efficiently.—There is good reason to believe that, except with respect to problems upon which a unified national attack is clearly necessary, the best results in public welfare administration in Canada will be obtained through decentralization. The sheer bigness of the country makes administration from Ottawa difficult. Moreover, the development of our national life places more and more burdens upon the federal government, and it would seem

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Unless there is a system of grants-in-aid, as in Great Britain, whereby the poorer authorities are assisted more liberally than those that are more prosperous. There are many difficulties to be met in adjusting financial aid to needs, but it may be that it will be necessary to adopt this system in connection with grants-in-aid throughout Canada.

to be a sound general rule that the complexity of government at Ottawa should not be made greater by Dominion assumption of new responsibilities without very substantial reason. For somewhat similar reasons the delegation of certain welfare responsibilities by the provincial governments to the local authorities may prove to be in the best interests of efficient administration.

5. Due consideration must be given to regional differences in economic conditions, religion, language, tradition, and existing forms of social service organization.—In Quebec particularly public opinion will demand a large measure of provincial and local autonomy in social welfare. Recognition of regional differences, of course, will work against centralization. But complete uniformity from Atlantic to Pacific in our social services is not necessarily to be desired. A greater measure of progress may be obtained, at least in some branches of public welfare, through the different provinces and even the different municipalities having a measure of freedom to compete with one another in good works.

6. The distribution of functions should be such as to permit and to encourage the development of a national welfare policy.—There is great need for the progressive establishment throughout Canada of social services that will give reasonable equality of protection and opportunity to all Canadian citizens, no matter where they may live. An approach toward uniformity of services and standards requires national leadership and co-ordinating activity, although not necessarily national administration.

If we give due weight to the somewhat conflicting claims of these principles we are led to a few positive suggestions regarding the distribution of social service functions between the Dominion and the provinces. In the first place, it seems that the Dominion must take major responsibility to deal with problems of economic insecurity, the most important of which is unemployment. The Dominion has already moved a considerable distance in this direction through establishment of the Employment Service of Canada, adoption of the Old Age Pension Act, unemployment relief grants to the provinces and adoption of the abortive Unemployment and Social Insurance Act of 1935, and through appointment of the National Employment Commission in 1936. The Dominion is the only govern-

mental body in Canada that is in a position, by virtue of its powers to deal with currency and credit, foreign trade, transportation and taxation, effectively to control the general level of employment. Economic control is needed if the problem of unemployment is to be solved or mitigated, but economic control can only be exercised substantially by one government in Canada if we are to continue to have a federal union. Social insurance, to provide cash benefits to wageearners who lack income because they are out of work on account of unemployment, sickness, accident or superannutation, represents partial solution of the problem of economic insecurity. A substantial case can be made for a comprehensive system of social insurance, managed by the Dominion and uniform throughout the country. But the argument for federal management is not so strong in the case of sickness insurance, workmen's compensation, and old age pensions as in the case of unemployment insurance. However desirable a great national system of social insurance may be, it seems clear that a great step will be taken when the Dominion assumes responsibility to protect the bulk of unemployed against destitution. through the creation of jobs to meet their needs or through unemployment insurance benefits or through a combination of these and other measures.

Second, it seems necessary that the Dominion should continue to perform services for certain special classes, such as war veterans. sailors from deep-sea ships, Indians, criminals, and immigrants, who do not belong specifically to any one province, or whose special problems do not arise out of the ordinary conditions of civil life in any province, or who cannot be dealt with effectively by any one province. But there are real questions as to how far the Dominion should go with services for such groups. For instance, should the Dominion provide assistance to war veterans in respect of problems that derive only remotely, if at all, from war service? If this is done there must be established in each province Dominion administrative services for limited groups similar to provincial or municipal services for much broader groups, and this seems wasteful and unnecessary. Where Dominion responsibility for a special class clearly covers all their problems, as in the case of Indians, overlapping of administrative machinery may be avoided by the Dominion arranging with the

provincial authorities to provide the necessary social services, in return for reasonable payment. For instance, tuberculosis and venereal disease control among the Indians of the western provinces might well be handled very largely by the provincial public health authorities.

A third responsibility which it seems quite necessary for the Dominion to assume is that of developing an orderly system of eligibility for social services for interprovincial transients. As it has been stated above, there has been much trouble regarding social services for persons who move from one province to another. Uniform provincial residence rules are urgently needed to make clear those persons who "belong" to a province and those who do not; and along with these rules, reciprocal arrangements between the provinces whereby the outsider will receive equality of treatment with the insider. It may be impossible, under any set of residence rules, to tag everybody in Canada as belonging to one province or another. This is particularly true of a number of migratory unattached men who probably represent another special group of "Dominion" citizens rather than "provincial" citizens, for whom the Dominion should assume special responsibility. However, if reasonable provincial residence rules are worked out, under Dominion direction, the number of the residual group of federal wards will probably prove to be quite small.

Finally, it may be suggested that the Dominion should assume the function of leadership with respect to all branches of public welfare, including those that are administered completely by the provinces and the municipalities. As it has been suggested above, we want to see something in the nature of a national public welfare policy emerge. Contrary to a widespread opinion, this does not involve complete assumption by the Dominion of administrative and financial responsibility. But it does require that research, statistical service, planning, educational effort, and expert consulting service be centered in Ottawa to serve the whole country. The writer believes that provincial governments and municipalities would come more and more to an Ottawa bureau that provided such services and that it would do a great deal, in a comparatively short space of time, to bring about uniformity in legislation, in procedure and in stand-

ards of work. It would cost but little to establish and maintain such a valuable service of assistance and advice to legislators and administrators. It may be added that the Dominion could also exercise the function of leadership by making modest grants-in-aid to the provinces to encourage and support significant pieces of work, such as the establishment of health units, the improvement of venereal disease control, the development of psychiatric clinics, the rehabilitation of unemployables, the training of administrative personnel, etc. The Dominion has already done this in certain instances, with good results, and the practice might be followed much further, at relatively small cost.

If the Dominion were to assume the functions which have been mentioned, there is a strong case for the remainder of the public welfare field being left to the provinces.<sup>6</sup> Specifically, this would include every social type of assistance granted through a means test, whether it was termed unemployment relief, poor relief, mothers' pensions, old age pensions, or what not, as well as mental hygiene, corrections, indigent medical services, maintenance of hospitals and public health.<sup>7</sup> That is to say, the basic jobs of public welfare, of rendering services specially designed for the destitute, the defective and the delinquent, in order to maintain them, to rehabilitate them and to prevent others from falling into distress, would be left to the provincial governments, which would operate some of the necessary services directly and would delegate others to the local authorities.

It is impossible here to go into the question of the financial competence of the provinces and the municipalities to perform these functions. This is a complicated matter upon which there can be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> It should be made perfectly clear that these proposals are contingent upon substantial federal action to deal with the problem of economic insecurity. Until such action is taken it will be quite necessary for the Dominion to bear a large part of the costs of such services as unemployment relief and noncontributory old age pensions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The National Employment Commission, in its final report, January, 1938, recommends a nationally operated system of unemployment assistance to supplement national unemployment insurance, as in Great Britain; and the Royal Commission on the Penal System, in April, 1938, recommended Dominion operation of all penal institutions. There is no space here to comment in detail on these proposals. Suffice it to say that, while both commissions argue plausibly for Dominion administration of these services, the writer questions the need for this, and indeed the advantage of it, if provincial administration under Dominion leadership and co-ordination can be arranged.

much debate. But there is good reason to believe that, except where and when very unusual conditions prevail, the provinces and the municipalities can bear the bulk of the costs of public welfare if they are relieved of the very heavy charges of caring for the able-bodied unemployed and their dependents. If depression strikes with great severity at a particular section of Canada, raising social service charges greatly at a time when public revenues shrink, emergency provisions for financial assistance (to be withdrawn promptly when genuine "emergency" conditions have passed) can again be made by the Dominion.

Only a few hasty remarks will be made about the distribution of welfare functions between the provincial governments and the municipalities. In the first place, it seems that highly specialized services, such as the operation of psychiatric clinics, juvenile courts, and venereal disease control can be performed best by the provinces. The municipalities (apart from our few large cities) represent units of population too small to support efficient specialized services, staffed by full-time, properly qualified personnel.

Second, it is essential that there should be effective provincial supervision of municipal administration. There should be reasonable uniformity of service from municipality to municipality within a province and without provincial supervision this can scarcely be expected. This supervision should not be merely negative, to see that the municipality does not break the rules of the game, but should be positive, designed to give genuine assistance and guidance in the solution of problems. As the Dominion gives leadership to the provinces, so should the provincial government give leadership to its local authorities.

Third, it may be suggested that the question of distribution of functions between province and municipality cannot be discussed intelligently until we know what kind of a local authority we are talking about. Our municipalities differ enormously in size, from the large cities of Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver down to tiny rural townships of a few hundred people. In British Columbia we even have Slocan City, with a population officially recorded as 202. It is perfectly clear that population units of such diverse size cannot be expected to perform the same functions. If

we are not to have some reorganization of local government whereby small municipalities are grouped into larger units, at least for purposes of health and welfare, there will be strong arguments, particularly in the West, for provincial administration.

In some provinces the view is widely held that the province should "take over all the social services." While this opinion derives mainly from considerations of municipal finance, there are many who support it because they think that the province can operate the social services more efficiently than the municipalities. On the other hand, the suggestion may be advanced that if there were larger local authorities some of the functions now performed by provincial governments, such as the administration of mothers' allowances, might be delegated to them, to be performed under provincial supervision, and that the best administrative results might be obtained in this way. If this were done provincial grants-in-aid to the local authorities would be necessary.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION

There is space here for only a very few comments on administrative reorganization. As it has been pointed out earlier, the work of the Dominion in the public welfare field is now performed by several separate departments. Surely there is sufficient unity in the subject matter of public welfare that administration should not be split up in this way. But how shall the problem be solved at Ottawa? By a great federal department of social welfare, as has been proposed recently for the United States by the President's Committee on Administrative Management? By a bureau of public welfare in the Department of Labour? By attaching certain welfare functions to the Department of Pensions and National Health, so that its scope becomes somewhat the same as that of the British Ministry of Health? By an interdepartmental committee to correlate the work now being done by separate departments? These are all suggestions that have been made or that may be made. They are merely thrown out here for consideration. Thoroughgoing reorganization, which will co-ordinate the present Dominion public welfare services and will leave room for inclusion in the new administrative system of additional services that may be established, is urgently required at

Ottawa if the federal government is to play its proper part in public welfare.

In the provincial field there is also great need for administrative reorganization. Earlier it has been shown that the functions of public welfare are now distributed, in most of the provinces, among different departments. But is there not such affinity between the different branches of public welfare, as broadly defined in this paper—social assistance, child welfare, mental hygiene, corrections and health—that these should all be grouped under one department of provincial government? The writer believes that a strong case can be made for this. "Health" and "welfare" are interrelated very closely, and when the two sets of services are under the one department great advantages of co-operation and co-ordination can be readily obtained.

But there are some objections to the establishment of great provincial departments of health and welfare. For one thing, there is a strong feeling on the part of public health officers and medical men generally that public health activities should come under a separate department of government. They claim that the application of medical techniques, rather than service to depressed groups, is the chief distinguishing mark of public health service, the unifying principle which sets it off clearly and distinctly from other types of governmental activity. Public health, they fear, might be submerged in a department of health and welfare. "Welfare" they look upon as a field distinct from public health.

The sheer fact that such views are widely held is an obvious obstacle to the amalgamation of health and welfare services under one department. There are other objections, also, which there is not space to mention here, and it may be that the disadvantages of such amalgamation are much greater than the advantages. However, it would be a very great advance if the public welfare services in each province could be distributed between two departments to be known generally as "health" and "welfare."

Either one of the two plans that have been suggested would involve important changes in organization. In particular, the unemployment relief services which are now associated chiefly with departments of labor and public works would be transferred to welfare

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departments. Unemployment relief as we have it today in Canada is really poor relief, and this has always been the basic public welfare service. The transfer of relief to welfare departments would follow the precedent which has been set in the United States, where, in one state after another, emergency relief organizations have been transferred to reorganized departments of public welfare. Reorganization of state welfare services to co-ordinate and integrate related activities is now proceeding apace in the United States, and we must follow suit in our Canadian provinces if we are not to lag seriously behind our American neighbors.

What has preceded has been only the sketchiest outline of the problem of public welfare organization in Canada. But it has been sufficient, no doubt, to suggest that the present situation is very unsatisfactory. We need urgently to put our house in order. Until this is done, in some measure at least, we are not likely to see efficiency or economy in the conduct of the great business of public welfare which now costs the country some \$250,000,000 per annum, or about one-quarter of our total public expenditures for all purposes.

At the end of the rogo edition of his book on unemployment Sir William Beveridge says that "The problem of unemployment . . . . is insoluble by any mere expenditure of public money. . . . . It needs not money so much as thought and organization." The same words can be applied to the problem of public welfare organization in this country. We are spending a great deal of money now and we are not getting value in social results from this expenditure. What we need most to do is not to spend more money, but to organize and plan so that we can use wisely, in the interests of our clients and the whole community, the huge budgets that must inevitably be intrusted to our care.

DEPARTMENT OF THE PROVINCIAL SECRETARY BRITISH COLUMBIA

# SOCIAL VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL TRAINING FOR DELINQUENT BOYS

GEORGE S. SPEER

of its training program to instruction in agriculture. Theoretically the plan has two chief advantages: supplies for the institution are raised more economically; it is easier to place discharged or paroled boys on farm jobs, or in rural foster-homes. Additionally, there is apparently a well-accepted, but not scientifically established, belief that agricultural training, and subsequent farm work, is of distinct advantage in the character-building program of the institution. It is recognized that the majority of the boys cannot return to the homes from which they came, and it is felt by most workers that a return to the home neighborhood is almost equally fraught with danger. "A job on a farm" is thought to be something of a panacea for the social rehabilitation of delinquents.

Several of the more progressive correctional institutions, however, have recently begun to question the economic and social value of agricultural training for their charges. We are not concerned here with the question of whether or not the policy is economically sound. As the primary purpose of the institution is the development of the boy, not all institutional policies are economically profitable, in the narrow sense. It is important, from a social point of view, to discover whether agricultural training, and subsequent farm placement, is of value in preparing the boy to accept the responsibilities of adult status.

A study of the experience of Berkshire Industrial Farm, Canaan, New York, a national, private, nonsectarian farm and trade school for the care and training of delinquent boys, throws some light on this problem. The study was limited to the records of the institution supplemented by visits to a number of boys selected at random and by interviews with others who returned to the Farm for various reasons.

Between January 1, 1930, and January 1, 1937, eighty-two delinquent boys have been enrolled in the agriculture department of the trade school at Berkshire Industrial Farm, have completed the training, and have been permanently discharged. These boys were committed to the Farm for various offenses, ranging from persistent truancy to automobile theft. The "reason for commitment" as given in the commitment blank by the court is frequently general and vague, and often is not the actual offense for which the boy was brought into court. The majority of this group of boys came from urban communities in New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. In this they are typical of the general Farm population. All but ten had apparently been involved in some previous delinquency, but there was an official court record of previous delinquency in only half of the cases. The histories of fifty of these boys are fairly complete, but for the remainder the history ranges from a statement on the commitment paper of the specific charge, to a letter, or series of letters, from various social agencies interested in the case.

In sixty-three cases the home is known to be definitely unsatisfactory. The information concerning all but three of the remainder is indefinite. Three homes appear to have been satisfactory in every respect.

The average age of the boys on admission was 14.6 years. They ranged in age from thirteen to sixteen. The average Binet I.Q. was 82.5, considerably lower than the average for the Berkshire Farm boys as a whole, which was 93 or above during this time. Eight of these boys were high-grade mental defectives. Thirteen were of borderline intelligence.

The Farm offered training in auto mechanics, electricity, printing, plumbing, carpentry, house painting, sheet metal work, laundry work, and barbering, as well as in agriculture. All the eighty-two boys included in this study chose agriculture as a vocation, a number of them after experience in other trades at the school. Their choice was approved by the psychologist and the superintendent. There were no aptitude tests given before approval of a boy's training program. It was generally accepted that agricultural training was valuable in the treatment of delinquency and that if a boy asked for such training he should be allowed to have it.

The average length of training in agriculture, which included classroom work in theory as well as actual experience in the field, was two years, which is the length of the trade training period at the Farm. The actual time spent by this group of boys ranged from nine months for some boys who had had previous experience on farms to three years for some of the younger boys, who were retained until they were of working age. During this time the minimum age for agricultural placement was sixteen. Thirty-five of the boys were sixteen when placed, and the rest were older.

### PLACEMENT PROCEDURE

Placement and parole supervision at the Farm are under the direction of a former probation officer, with long experience in placement work. Placement was made by him with the approval of the superintendent.<sup>2</sup> Parole normally means a minimum of six months of good behavior and satisfactory adjustment to a job situation. Permanent discharge is made by the superintendent, upon recommendation from the placement director, after a satisfactory parole period indicates that the boy is able to continue without formal supervision. Discharge is also effected when the boy is committed to another institution, reaches the maximum juvenile court age, or if supervision is transferred to another agency.

Knowledge of the home into which the boy is to be placed is an essential part of the placement plan. A careful and detailed investigation is made of each home that is considered. The investigation is made by either the parole officer or the case worker. Hours of work, type of work, rate of pay, recreation facilities, accommodations for the boy, members of the family and family interrelationships, financial stability, character of other workers who are employed, success with previous boys, and the personal reputation of the family in the community, are items carefully considered. The written report for an accepted home is filed in the boy's folder. A foster-home file is also kept, but the records are in fragmentary form, and it is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Recently (1937) the minimum age requirement has been increased to seventeen for farm work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Since 1937 placement plans have been made by a joint committee of psychologist, social worker, placement director, and superintendent.

frequently difficult to find specific information about a home which is not being used.

As good behavior and satisfactory job adjustment frequently depend upon a satisfactory social adjustment, an important part of the program is interesting the boy in the organized community recreation facilities and the desirable social activities. To this end, the parole requirements include attendance at some church each Sunday, and the Farm pays the membership fee for the first six months in the local Y.M.C.A., grange, boys' club, or other organization where a fee is required. Athletic equipment is occasionally furnished to help in getting the boy associated with athletic groups.

The social adjustment of these boys is a serious problem. While at Berkshire Industrial Farm they were a part of a group which accepted them on terms of equality. When placed on a job they frequently feel, as a result of the restrictions placed upon them, that they are, or are felt to be, inferior to their associates. Some farmers attempted to enforce much more rigid discipline than that maintained at the Farm. Many others threatened to return the boys to the Farm as the penalty for petty infractions of their own rules.

Although much of the effort of the placement director was expended in getting these boys interested in various forms of organized recreation, the boys frequently felt they were stigmatized as institution boys and would not participate after a few half-hearted efforts. In many other cases, the employer would not allow sufficient time for the boy to participate in social activities, although this was one of the conditions of their employment. These boys were adolescents and were interested in seeking the companionship of boys and girls of their own age. The Farm encouraged or discouraged this on an individual case-work basis, but the employer and his neighbors frequently discouraged it, particularly association with girls, on the basis of prejudice against "reform-school boys." This attitude is one of the chief reasons why the boys who left their farm jobs sought employment where they were not known and in cities, where girls were apparently easier to meet.

Examination of the letters which these boys wrote to the placement director, and the reports of visits to the boys, would indicate that at least 80 per cent of the boys were unhappy and badly maladjusted socially. Not all these fifty-four boys were not accepted socially, but they felt they were denied full opportunity for recreation and social expression. Relatively isolated from group recreational activities, most of them were not prepared for the type of social contacts which they encountered. Recreational activity at Berkshire Industrial Farm largely takes the form of organized group athletics—baseball, football, basketball. These are popular games for young men, but the ability to participate successfully in these games is a social asset only in communities where there is a sufficient number of young men able and willing to form a team, however loosely or temporarily organized. The cultivation of aptitude and interest in games which require the participation of only a few people would have been advantageous.

One of the theoretical advantages of farm placement is that supervision of the working and leisure hours is in the hands of one person, the employer, who is also the head of the foster-home. The employer is supposed to interest himself in the recreational and social activities of the boy and to encourage desirable forms of activity. This ideal person is seldom met, and the actual supervision of social activities is generally in the hands of some outside agency, if one exists, with the co-operation of the placement director. All the employers expressed a willingness to assist in having the boy accepted in community social activities. However, many of the farmers themselves appear to be in need of help in this direction, and a fruitful line of inquiry before placement would probably be as to whether the farmer and his family were themselves active participants in community affairs.

One of the requirements of parole is that the boy may not leave a job without written permission from the placement director. This keeps a contact with the boys and allows time for investigation of the new job that the boy wants to take. It is not unusual for other farmers in the neighborhood to bid for the services of a boy who is a good worker or for one they feel they can exploit. The restrictions of the parole regulations tend to eliminate the latter and to secure better wages for the good worker.

The minimum period of parole is six months, but this is not rigidly adhered to. Fifteen of the eighty-two boys were discharged

without a parole period being required. Six of these were feebleminded, and were transferred to state institutions for the feebleminded. Four were returned to children's court as incorrigible and failing to respond to training. Three ran away from the institution while placement plans were being formulated, and were never located. Two were transferred to the care of other agencies.

Half of the remainder, or thirty-three, were discharged from parole after periods ranging from six to nine months. Their behavior and adjustment had indicated that they would be able to carry on successfully by themselves without formal supervision, although all boys are followed for advice and help, even after permanent discharge.

The remaining thirty-four were continued on parole for varying lengths of time, a few for as long as two years. The records do not indicate, in many cases, the reason for continuing supervision of these boys. In a few cases it appears that the period of parole was extended because of the difficulties in which these boys had become involved. In the majority of cases, however, formal parole appears to have been continued merely because steps leading to discharge had been neglected on the part of the administration. With the exception of eight boys who became involved in serious delinquencies, and for whom parole was continued for this reason, none of the rest behaved in any way to distinguish them from those discharged after six months. There seems to have been a tendency to continue formal control of boys who were felt to be "weak" by the superintendent, or director of placement, but this information, and the reason for it, is seldom found in the record.

## IOB ADJUSTMENT

The job record of this group of boys is characterized by numerous changes, short periods of work, complaints about wages, and frequent inquiries as to when their "time" will be up. Few of the boys appeared to realize that the length of the parole period depended upon their own behavior and adjustment.

In addition to the basic board and room, these boys were placed at wages ranging from \$5.00 to \$15 a month. Although a few of them will probably never be worth more than this to a farmer, the ma-

jority were doing the same work, and doing it as well as or better than the average farm hand with whom they were working, who received at this time from \$25 to \$50 a month. The farmer felt that he was contributing a good deal in taking the boy into his home accepting responsibility for him, supervising him, and keeping books on his account. The boys received in actual cash only a small proportion of their wages. The rest was sent to the Farm each month, and kept in his account, to be expended for clothing and necessaries, the balance to be returned when the boy was formally discharged.

From the administrative point of view, this policy was desirable, as it prevented unwise expenditure by the boy, who would then have to be clothed and provided with other necessities by the Farm. It kept the boy more closely in contact with the Farm, and thus lent itself to additional supervisory procedures. It also guaranteed that for some length of time the boy was actually paid for his labor. The monthly remittances were carefully checked, and there are very few instances where the boy was not paid. In all such cases the farmer had suffered a loss which prevented him from paying any of his help.

The boys had an entirely different feeling about this method of handling their wages. The explanation of the procedure was not always adequate, the majority of them were of low intelligence, and the plan was somewhat involved. They generally felt either that their wages were only the small sums they were allowed each month, or that the Farm was confiscating their pay. The disagreements over money are by far the largest single item of controversy between the boy and the Farm. These disagreements were often bitter, and frequently contributed to maladjustment in the job situation. In a number of cases the conflict about wages between the boy and the Farm, tended to disrupt the relations between the boy and the case worker or placement director. A more adequate explanation when the boy was first placed would probably reduce much of this kind of contention, would tend to reduce the number of job difficulties, and would make parole supervision more valuable.

On the whole, these boys did not remain on the same job for any length of time. One-fourth of them left their first job within thirty days of placement. One-half of the boys left their first job within six months of their first placement. Three-fourths left their first job

within nine months of their first placement. This may be stated differently: one-fourth remained on the first job less than one month; one-fourth remained on the job more than one month but less than six months; one-fourth remained on the job more than six months, but less than nine months.

Dissatisfaction continued in subsequent jobs. The average number of jobs which these boys had held, not including the first placement, was three. But this figure does not adequately represent the trends in jobs, as this average includes those who have been permanently discharged for six months as well as those who have been discharged for six years. When the figures are limited to the forty-five boys who have been discharged for two years or more, the average number of jobs after the first placement was 6.1.

There were many reasons for changing from one job to another. As mentioned above, the wage question was an important one in affecting the adjustment on the first job. About half of the boys obtained higher wages on the second job. Another reason was the objection to supervision, and the effect it had on the boy. Almost every boy left his job shortly after he was permanently discharged. The boys apparently resented the supervision they had received from the Farm and from their employers. They wanted to work where restrictions had not been imposed. They resented the social limitations which had been imposed and which they knew, or felt, would not be lifted merely because of a formal discharge. It was difficult for many of the farmers to relax supervision when the boy was no longer on parole, and this led to numerous disagreements. Also, as the boys came closer to the day when they expected discharge, they frequently expressed their dislike of the rules, and this led to disagreements with the farmer who was responsible for their administration.

These are the chief reasons for leaving the first job, and to some extent for leaving the second job. It does not account for the frequent changes in subsequent jobs, particularly those of the boys who had been discharged for two years, and were entirely on their own responsibility.

Of the sixty-seven boys who had been permanently discharged six months or more, and were at liberty, 45 per cent were employed

on farms, and approximately 55 per cent in other occupations. At first glance, this would appear to indicate that half of the agriculturally trained boys tend to remain in agriculture after their discharge. When the figures are broken down and grouped according to the length of time they have been discharged, a different trend is indicated. Of those boys who have been discharged only six months, there are seven times as many employed in agriculture as in other occupations. For boys who have been discharged twelve to eighteen months, the distribution between farm and other occupations is equal. After eighteen months there are four times as many boys employed in other occupations than on farm jobs. The trend appears to be definitely away from farm work, for which they have been trained.

The type of work these boys sought, in preference to farm work, was generally that of unskilled labor in a city, in most instances the city of their origin. The comments made by these boys in letters to the placement director indicate some of the reasons for this trend. They had shorter hours in the city and less work; no one knows their background, and they were able to go with girls and to go to parties with other young people. Some of them expressed a sense of obligation and responsibility for their families and felt that they could be of greater help at home.

A review of these cases indicates that the agricultural training which they have received is not economically and socially desirable. When placed on parole they have generally been overworked and underpaid. They have a as rule had a very few recreational outlets, small opportunity for social growth. They tend to leave the farms, for which they have been prepared, to swell the ranks of unskilled labor in the cities.

On the other side of the ledger, however, it must be pointed out that their behavior record is good. Although fifty-one violated the terms of their parole in some degree, only twelve became involved in behavior that necessitated their return to the institution. Only eight have been brought into court on new charges; seven of these had been discharged less than six months and the other two years at the time. While the institution keeps a careful record for every boy and those placed at farm jobs are easier to keep track of than those placed at other work, it may be that some of them have been involved in difficulties not reported to the Farm. This is more apt to happen in the case of boys who have been discharged more than six months.

During parole the boys are kept track of by regular, unannounced visits and by letter. After discharge the visits are continued at fairly regular intervals for at least six months, and rather irregularly and less frequently after that. Letters are regular and frequent, one man devoting full time to correspondence. Information is obtained about a boy from other boys with whom he was known to be friendly while at the institution or afterward. It is this part of the record, of course, which is less reliable. An effort is made to verify the information obtained, but this is not always done.

In addition to what is, so far as the records of the Industrial Farm reveal, evidence of success in the training program from a behavior standpoint, it should be noted that in a period of national unemployment these boys have been employed. Only five (October, 1937) were unemployed, though this success may be due to the exhaustive efforts made in their behalf by the placement director.

Training in agriculture, and placement on farm jobs, has perhaps helped in the development of character, though the evidence in support of this theory is questionable. It has enabled them to support themselves for a few years. It has not prepared them for a life or vocation which they wish to continue. It has not helped them in meeting the social problems which have arisen, nor has it helped them to readjust to the society from which they came. Readjustment of these boys has probably been hampered by the fact that the major interest of the placement director has been in securing employment for the boy, keeping him out of trouble and on the job. A well-trained professional worker, co-operating with the placement director, serving as a buffer between the boy and the community, might well reduce adjustment difficulties.

Also, greater care should be exercised in the selection of boys who are to receive agricultural training. It must be recognized that farm

training and placement is not a panacea for personality or behavior disorders. Placement in a rural area may create more problems than it helps. There is a lack of anonymity in rural areas which many of these boys cannot bear. The lack of facilities for recreation and social activities produces an unbalanced regime that is not conducive to satisfactory social adjustment.

CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC, CHILDREN'S SERVICE LEAGUE SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

## CASE RECORD

## Fannie, Margaret, and Ruth Bauer

The Record of Three Sisters Receiving Old Age Assistance in the Same Household

[Editor's Note.—Because of the scarcity of available public welfare records illustrating case situations of persons cared for by Old Age Assistance, the Social Service Review has obtained permission from George P. Mills, executive director, Allegheny County Board of Assistance, Pennsylvania Department of Public Assistance, to make this record available to its readers. The record was originally edited (including changes of personal and place names) in November, 1937, and was mimeographed for distribution by the Old Age Assistance Administration of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. The alterations which have been made by the editor before publication have been slight and were merely in the interest of brevity and clarity. I

# APPLICATION FOR OLD AGE ASSISTANCE<sup>2</sup> (Dated June 20, 1934)

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
COUNTY OF ALLEGHENY

TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE OLD AGE ASSISTANCE FUND:

We, FANNIE BAUER, MARGARET BAUER, and RUTH BAUER, of 811 Second Street, Pittsburgh, County of Allegheny, State of Pennsylvania, herewith apply for Old Age Assistance under the provisions of Act No. 64, Laws of 1934.

ı.	AGE:	Fannie	70	2. DATE OF BIRTH:	October 2, 1863
		Margaret	72		January 24, 1861
		Ruth	74		August 30, 1859

3. BIRTHPLACE: North Side, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

4. ARE YOU A CITIZEN? Yes

5. Address for Last 15 Years (Exclusive of Temporary Absences):

Street Address	Post Office	From	To
811 Second Street	Pittsburgh	1927	Date
1106 Maple Avenue	Pittsburgh	1900	1927

<sup>1</sup> Reprints of the case record may be purchased from the University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, in lots of ten or more at 10 cents per copy.

<sup>2</sup> This information appears on the regular application forms which are signed by each applicant and notarized at date of application. The three separate applications made by the foregoing persons were combined into one for the purpose of brevity.

- 6. LIST TEMPORARY ABSENCES DURING LAST 15 YEARS: None
- 7. Do You NEED INSTITUTIONAL CARE? No
- 8. DATE OF MARRIAGE: Single
- 9. What Is the Value of Your Real Estate? None What Is the Value of Your Personal Property? None
- 10. WHAT IS YOUR PRESENT INCOME? None
- 11. Do You RECEIVE RELIEF? No
- 12. LIST CHILDREN AND ADULT GRANDCHILDREN NOW LIVING, TOGETHER WITH NAMES, ADDRESSES, AND RELATIONSHIPS: None
- 13. LIST, FOR PURPOSES OF REFERENCE, TWO OR MORE PERSONS NOT RELA-TIVES:

Name	Address	Occupation
JANE MCLEAD	781 Ann Street, Pittsburgh	Housewife
JAMES DOWNS	2831 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh	Contractor

#### CHRONOLOGICAL RECORD

November 15, 1934.—Application filed.

December 21, 1934. S.S.E.—Cleared with the Social Service Exchange and obtained the following registrations: The family is known as Bauer, mother's and father's name not given. Three children, Fannie, Margaret, and Ruth. Known to:

Catholic Charities, June 4, 1927 Mercy Hospital, June 16, 1927 Falk Clinic, May 13, 1928 Legal Aid Society, December 12, 1929 City Mental Health Clinic, May 13, 1929

December 21, 1934. Neighborhood and housing.—Visited. The applicants have rooms on the top floor of a three-story brick apartment house which is situated in a residential section inhabited by persons of moderate income. After knocking several times on their door, Visitor was admitted by a small, slight woman with disheveled hair and piercing eyes who opened the door only a few inches and inquired who was there. The small room was crowded with odd pieces of old-fashioned furniture. The applicants, seated around a tiny gas stove, stared at Visitor with great hostility. They seemed to resent the fact that they had permitted their names to be sent in for assistance and blamed each other in terms of "I told you not to." They were very reticent about speaking of their life and were on the defensive the greater part of the visit.

Early life.—The applicants were born of thrifty German parents on Main Street, North Side, and lived in that neighborhood until the death of their parents and the consequent breaking-up of the home. Their

father had been in business and had gradually acquired considerable property in that section; however, at his death, their brother, who is now deceased, came into possession of the major part of the estate. The applicants are extremely bitter about this and, from their conversation, Visitor understood that they had not seen or spoken with their brother or his family since that time. After the death of their father it was necessary for them to support themselves. Miss Ruth and Miss Margaret3 sewed beautifully and maintained themselves by this method. They never married, although Miss Fannie said several times that they had had "offers."

Health.—Miss Ruth is a tall, gaunt-looking woman with patrician-like features. She sat erect in a chair, her hands folded in her lap, and barely moved. She is thin and stated that she had lost a great deal of weight this past year. She and Miss Fannie had severe colds early in the fall and have failed to clear up coughs that appear to be getting worse. All three have deep, puffy circles under their eyes.

Miss Fannie stated that since childhood she has been subject to "spells" in which she loses consciousness and falls on the floor wherever she may be. This infirmity has made it impossible for her to secure employment. She has had no medical care since she was young, for she feels it is useless.

Miss Margaret, who formerly worked in the alteration department of Kaufmann's department store, had a nervous breakdown eight years ago, from which she has never recovered. She went to the Falk Clinic once or twice at that time but decided nothing could be done and has never returned. She has had no medical care since then. Throughout the visit she moaned and cried, wringing her hands in nervous agony. Miss Ruth and Miss Fanny said that they would have a terrible time with her later, for a stranger upsets her, making her worse. They rarely get more than one or two hours of sleep during a night because of the noise she makes.

Financial.—Miss Ruth, who seems to be in better health than her two sisters and who seems to be the head of the family, is a seamstress and has been able to earn enough to provide for their needs until this past year. She has a small amount of money left, just how much she declined to say. However, after careful inquiry as to the approximate amount, she stated that the total was about \$285, which was all they had left in the world. This money is kept in the house, as they have no confidence in banks. When Miss Fannie was a young girl she placed \$14 in a bank which failed shortly afterwards; she never did recover the full amount. They, likewise,

<sup>3</sup> For purposes of clarity the first names of the applicants are used throughout the record.

do not have any insurance, for their mother had a small policy with a company which went into bankruptcy shortly after she obtained her policy.

Expenses.—The applicants continue to pay their rent of \$20 a month and will do so if they have to go without food. The gas bill averages \$1.00 a month; the electric bill, 50 cents a month. In order to save gas and electricity, they spend the greater part of their time in the room in which the interview took place. Their food costs them, according to Miss Ruth, about \$3.00 or \$4.00 a week. Visitor believes that they have been practically starving themselves to make their money last longer.

Relatives.—The applicants have no living relatives.

Attitude toward investigation.—Early in the visit Visitor mentioned the need of securing verification of their age and birthplace and, as they had nothing to confirm their statements, suggested that they obtain birth certificates from St. Peter's Church, where they believe they were baptized. Miss Ruth said that what they had told Visitor was the truth, and if she did not believe them they did not intend to secure any proof. If the state wished to aid them, it would be all right. Visitor explained that it was not that she did not believe them, but that it was necessary to have verifying information according to the law. Nothing more was said of this matter until Visitor was leaving, when she again urged them to obtain some confirming evidence. Miss Ruth said that she had not made up her mind yet as to what they would do but thought they would not do anything. However, as Visitor was standing at the door, she said that they would think it over.

December 24, 1934. Visit to reference.—Called and talked with Mrs. McLead, who is eighty years old and has known the applicants and their parents all her life. She knows that they are well over seventy years of age. Their parents were wealthy, and they were reared in an atmosphere of plenty. It was a blow to them when they learned that they were left penniless. They worked hard to take care of themselves. All had beautiful voices and sang in the church choir, earning \$10 a Sunday. Miss Ruth sews well but has not been able to get much work now. Mrs. McLead feels that they do not have enough to eat and she frequently invites them to meals, at which time they eat like starved persons. All are very proud and are not willing to ask for assistance. It was Mrs. McLead who suggested that they apply for old age assistance and who sent their names in to the agency. Visitor explained the attitude of the applicants about securing baptismal certificates and expressed the desire to aid them. Mrs. McLead will be alone Sunday and said that she would invite them to dinner, when

she would urge them to comply with the requirements or give permission to Visitor to secure the necessary information.

December 27, 1934. Other agency records.—Telephoned Miss Jones of the Catholic Charities. In 1927 the applicants came to the agency for legal advice and were referred to Legal Aid Society. They gave their ages as sixty-eight for Miss Ruth, fifty-five for Miss Margaret, and fifty for Miss Fannie. They were born on the North Side, where they lived until the death of their parents, at which time they moved to Greenfield.

Telephoned Miss Miller of Legal Aid Society. In December, 1929, the applicants came for advice. The landlord was trying to get them out of his house because the neighbors complained of their queerness and it was becoming impossible to rent houses in that section. They were very suspicious of other persons and upon any pretext brought suit against the neighbors. Several times they pulled the hair of persons who, they thought, were talking about them. The school children made fun of them. They were finally legally evicted. The newspapers made much of the story at the time. Miss Ruth's age was given as thirty-eight, Miss Margaret's forty, and Miss Fannie's was not mentioned.

Telephoned the Mental Health Clinic. The applicants were never examined but were referred to the Legal Aid Society. They were having trouble with their landlord, who was evicting them upon the grounds that he could not rent houses in the neighborhood. Neighbors complained that the sisters cast "evil eyes." The applicants at this time gave their ages as sixty-five for Miss Margaret, fifty for Miss Ruth, and fifty-five for Miss Fannie.

Telephoned the Mercy Hospital. Miss Margaret received a first examination and was advised to return, which she never did. The case was diagnosed as nervous fatigue.

Telephoned Falk Clinic. Miss Ryan stated that she would send a summary.

Later.—Telephoned Mr. James Downs, reference, who was able to verify the applicants' residence. He knows that they are over seventy.

Later.—Miss Ruth in office with an old record of her father's written in German, which gave the names and birth dates of the applicants. She agreed to sign an affidavit concerning the amount of money she possesses. Miss Ruth was dressed in an old-fashioned coat, fur scarf, small felt hat, and carried a large tapestry handbag. She was very pleasant and chatted freely for a considerable time. Miss Margaret has been very ill lately, and nothing they have been able to do for her has helped. Miss Ruth herself has been sick. Sunday she got up early and went to St. Michael's

Church, which is about two miles away, without having eaten breakfast. She fainted during the services but refused to allow anyone to drive her home. She was barely able to reach a friend's home before fainting again. A cup of coffee revived her, and her friend drove her home.

Miss Ruth asked that Visitor pardon her if she appeared rather brusque and discourteous the day Visitor called. It had hurt their pride to think that they actually had to beg. As she left she expressed the desire to see Visitor again.

SUMMARY OF VERIFICATIONS OF REQUIREMENTS
FOR ELIGIBILITY

Name ,	Born	Baptiz	ed	Verified
Fannie Margaret Ruth	Oct. 2, 1863 Jan. 24, 1861 Aug. 30, 1859	Oct. 6, Jan. 31, Sept. 22,	1861	Records of St. Peter's Church
Birthplace	North Side, Pittsburgh; verified by family record and baptismal certificates			
Residence	Life-residence verified by testimony of references			
Resources	\$250 cash held by Miss Ruth; affidavit in file			
Budgets	Expenses	Miss Fannie	Miss Margare	Miss Ruth
	Rent	\$ 0	\$ 0	\$15
	Food	9	9	9
	Clothing	4	4	4
	Total	\$15	\$15	\$30

December 29, 1934.—Letter sent to Father Grier of St. Peter's Church, as it was necessary to have confirmation of birthplace. [Omitted.]

Board action.—Case presented to Board and a grant of \$60 [the maximum allowed under the act of December, 1934] was recommended.<sup>4</sup>

A record of the information received during the investigation was incorporated in a report and sent to the state office before grants were finally approved.

January 19, 1935.—Letter received from Father Grier, inclosing copies of baptismal certificates. [Omitted.]

<sup>4</sup> [At this time, under the law, one beneficiary in the household was permitted the maximum amount of \$30 and the others were permitted grants of \$15 each.]

#### ANALYSIS OF INVESTIGATION

Physical.—Housing conditions are crowded and not healthful. The only heat used is gas heat, and the house is, therefore, very damp. The household furnishings are old, and many of them are completely worn out. The Misses Bauer have saved all their possessions, and the rooms are overcrowded.

The health of the Misses Bauer needs immediate attention. All three sisters have severe coughs, and Miss Fannie frequently has fainting spells. Miss Margaret is extremely nervous and seldom leaves the house. Their personal appearance marks them as "queer" and probably causes much comment among friends and neighbors. The Misses Bauer have been extremely economical, to the point of starvation. They are all very thin and worn in appearance.

Intellectual.—There seems to be very little intellectual acceptance of their present circumstances by any of the sisters. They were very anxious to impress Visitor with their personal qualifications and the financial success of their parents.

Emotional.—It was apparent that the Misses Bauer are extremely withdrawn and that they are unable to face their present situation. They react by disregarding their present circumstances and living in the past. The fact that they have applied for assistance is disgraceful to them, and they were unable to accept it sufficiently to co-operate during the investigation. Miss Ruth, however, indicated interest, and it may be possible that she is better adjusted than either Miss Fannie or Miss Margaret.

#### PLAN

- Attempt to gain the confidence of the Misses Bauer in order that they may feel free to discuss their problem
- By interpretation, help them to accept old age assistance, so that the feelings of disgrace and shame connected with it may be eliminated
- Arrange for medical treatment by first preparing them to realize the need for care. Arrange for necessary follow-up attention
- Assist in budgeting income, with special emphasis on food habits. Encourage the family to eat sufficiently and to use nourishing foods
- Work with the family on a friendly basis and, in this way, learn more of their past experiences
- 6. Attempt to establish some recreational interests

February 23, 1935.—Miss Fannie and Miss Margaret in office. In Visitor's absence they spoke with Mrs. Caldwell, office secretary. They came in to tell Visitor that they had received their checks and wanted to

know where they might have them cashed. Mrs. Caldwell suggested going to a bank, but they said they had no use for banks. Mrs. Caldwell suggested that friends might cash the checks for them, and they agreed that this would be a better plan. Throughout the conversation, which was carried on in whispers, they stood in the hall, as they did not want anyone to know that they are receiving assistance.

March 6, 1935.-Visited. After knocking several times with no response, Visitor decided to wait a few minutes, for she could hear a faint rustling within. Shortly after, Miss Fannie opened the door and cordially invited Visitor to come in, calling to her sisters that "the lady who had come to see them about that check was here." All three appeared genuinely glad to see Visitor, who said that she had been in the neighborhood and

thought she would stop to inquire how they were.

They immediately began to talk of their poor health. Miss Ruth and Miss Fannie are very much worried about hacking coughs which have been dragging on for over three months with no signs of improvement. Heretofore they have always had good health. Miss Fannie developed a cold about three months ago and became so sick that they called a doctor, for they were afraid she had pneumonia from the way she perspired. Dr. Miller made seven trips, but they have not seen him since, as they cannot afford to pay him and they have never been accustomed to accept anything for which they could not pay. Miss Ruth took care of her sister and evidently contracted her cough in that manner. They were taking medicine which they bought at the drug store, but as it did not seem to do them any good and cost considerably, they stopped using it and are now relying on oranges, which they feel have been of more value than the medicine. Visitor agreed with them as to the value of oranges but suggested that other foods, such as vegetables and meats, were essential to good health. They have not been able to buy much in the line of fresh vegetables and meats lately because the prices of food have gone up. Miss Ruth asked Visitor what kind of meat she liked, and when Visitor said lamb, Miss Ruth's face brightened. She likes lamb too, but they cannot afford it now. Miss Margaret added that they were able to have this before she became sick and had to stop work. They all had to work when they were young, and they feel that this is the reason their health is bad now. If their father had lived it might have been different, but he died very suddenly when they were young, and they had to help in the store in order to support their mother. Their father owned a grocery store on the North Side, which was reasonably successful.

Mother.—The mother was born in Germany and came to this country with her parents, who were of French descent, when she was thirteen years old. They came on a small sailing vessel which took three months to cross the ocean. Their mother often told them of the good times she had on the boat with the captain, and how she hated to leave when they reached New York. They came to Pittsburgh and settled on the North Side.

Father.—Their father came over from Germany by himself when he was eighteen or nineteen years of age. Visitor remarked that he must have been a courageous young man to leave his family and come to a strange land by himself. Miss Ruth said one would think he was an aggressive person, but he really was a timid man and was frequently homesick. His family and their mother's parents knew each other in Germany, so he came to live near them and ultimately married the daughter. Miss Fannie said that their mother could have married wealthier men, but she preferred Mr. Bauer because he was good and kind. Mr. and Mrs. Bauer had eight children, the first three being girls who died before they were two years old; two boys and three girls grew up. Andrew and James are both dead now. Miss Margaret remarked that if it had not been for their brothers they would not be in the circumstances they are today.

Brothers.—The brothers Andrew and James were married at the time of their father's death and refused to aid the girls in settling his debts and in providing for their mother. Miss Margaret managed the store while Miss Ruth went out and sewed. Together, they paid off their father's debts, which amounted to \$5,000. They continued to live in the old home with their mother, who often said that she was glad they would always have a home after she died, for they had been good to her. However, their mother died (thirty years ago) without leaving a will, as had their father before her. Their brother James took over the house and made them pay rent from the day their mother died until they left. Their share of the estate was almost entirely used to defray the expenses of the lawyers whom they hired to fight the disposition of the estate, the fees amounting to approximately \$2,000. The remaining amount was placed in a trust company which closed shortly afterward. Miss Fannie said that from what their friends have told them, James and Andrew regretted what they had done. The Misses Bauer feel that their brothers were influenced in their actions by their wives.

James Bauer was a funeral director on the North Side and, from what they can find out, he was fairly wealthy. Andrew, who died three years ago, was a glass-blower by trade. Miss Fannie remarked that they almost had two "corpses" in the family at one time, because Miss Ruth had a severe heart attack on the day they were notified of their brother's death. Miss Ruth had another attack about two months ago, when she was attending church; and since that time, she has not gone out of the house, as she is afraid that she may have another "spell." She formerly did all the marketing, but now Miss Margaret and Miss Fannie go to the city on Saturdays and buy the greater part of their food in the market place, where prices are lower.

Neighbors.—Miss Margaret said that they have never been well since they moved into their present apartment, and they would like to move into a small three- or four-room house in the suburbs where they could be by themselves. Their friends want them to move to South Hills, but they do not feel that they can afford to because of the high rents which prevail there. When asked about their neighbors, all three said that they rarely see any of them, since they seldom leave their rooms. They do object to the way the family who lives beneath them turns on the radio and "lets it go all day long"; they also object to the noise the children in this family make. Miss Ruth said she cannot understand the way the children of today "run wild" and do not seem to obey their parents. Their mother and father were very strict with them. Miss Ruth went to school only until she was thirteen, because she had to stay at home to help her mother. Miss Fannie never went to school, for she never knew when she would have one of her spells. She was examined by some of the best physicians and specialists in the city, but none was able to help her.

Financial situation.—Miss Margaret said that it was no wonder they were all sick, for they had so much to worry them. All they do is to sit in their rooms and wonder what is to become of them. Visitor suggested that they should not have to worry so much now because the assistance they are receiving, though small, will be sufficient to take care of their current expenses. Miss Ruth admitted this, but her sad, disheartened demeanor did not change, and she appeared to have something on her mind. Visitor felt that it would be best to ask them pointedly how they have been managing. They have been getting along very well this month, but the check they received was for December and they are wondering if they will receive the checks for January and February. Visitor assured them that they would receive monthly checks which might sometimes be late, but which they could feel certain would come. Just whether they would receive the past months in a lump sum, or whether the checks would continue to be two months late, Visitor could not say, but explained the pay roll and how it is made up.

As it was evident that Miss Margaret was becoming nervous, Visitor prepared to leave. She again suggested that it would be wise to go to see Dr. Miller for physical examinations, but they do not think they will. They asked Visitor to call again, saying that they enjoyed her visits.

April 9, 1935.—Visited. When the door was opened, the three sisters were in the hallway apparently half-fearful as to who their visitor was. They had been sitting together in the living-room talking, while Miss Ruth sewed on a dress for Miss Margaret. They keep the doors closed between the rooms, thus making it difficult for them to hear anyone knocking on the front door.

Health.—Miss Margaret has not been as well lately as she was for a while. She seems to be more nervous and irritable, which is extremely wearing on her sisters. Visitor suggested that it might be wise for her to see a doctor. Miss Ruth and Miss Fannie literally pounced on this suggestion, saving that they have been trying to get her to go to Dr. Miller, who attended them on several occasions, but she will not do it because she does not think he can help her. Dr. Miller has told them that she should be under a doctor's care; however, she will not listen to them. They have also told her to go to the clinic, where she went years ago, but she always says that they did not do her any good then and it will just be a waste of time to go back. Miss Ruth and Miss Fannie feel that she did not give the doctors a chance to help her, since she did not follow their advice and went only a few times although they wanted her to come regularly. Visitor tried to point out to Miss Margaret that she should have medical care as soon as possible so that she would be in a physical condition to accept work if she had a chance. Her lack of work seems to worry her more than anything else, and she is always lamenting the lack of it. Miss Ruth and Miss Fannie are afraid her mind will give way entirely if she does not do something. Visitor suggested that she be permitted to make an appointment at the clinic, but Miss Margaret said she would rather not go at present, probably later. Miss Fannie and Miss Ruth are in favor of medical care for Miss Margaret, but when it was likewise suggested that it seemed advisable for them to see a doctor about their coughs, which are still troubling them, it was an entirely different matter. The medicine Dr. Miller gave them, which they took regularly for several months, did absolutely no good and they feel that if he was unable to help them no other doctor would be able to do so. With the advent of warm weather these coughs will disappear, they believe.

Miss Ruth's eyes have been hurting lately, and she believes she should have new lenses in her glasses. She has not had them changed for three years, because she could not afford to spend the money. She plans to have this attended to now.

Financial.—It has been hard for the family to readjust to a regular income because they have lived so long with practically nothing. From their conversation Visitor believes that they are eating better now and they are not forced to do without necessities. It was impossible to discuss the budgeting of the income because, at the first mention of it, Miss Margaret began to moan. Miss Fannie said that the fact that they are forced to receive assistance upsets Miss Margaret very much, and they try not to speak of it, hoping that in time she may forget it. They are able to pay their rent and fuel bills and have enough to buy food for the three of them.

They still hope to move to a place of their own, because the noise of the apartment house is beginning to affect Miss Margaret. She is not able to stand radios and children's loud talking and laughter; however, they have made no attempt to find another place. In fact, they very seldom go out except to buy food. Miss Ruth has not been out of the house since she had a heart attack in December. Miss Margaret never wants to go out, but if they leave her for any length of time she comes after them.

Miss Ruth asked about the news of the day. They heard an extra being called early this morning and, knowing that President Roosevelt was returning from his fishing trip, were worried for fear he had been assassinated. Visitor told them of the outstanding events that had taken place within the last few days.

May 16, 1935.—Visited. Miss Fannie, who opened the door, was wearing an old woolen cap over her head, and her hair was hanging down. She had just washed it and was wearing the cap until it was thoroughly dry. Miss Ruth scolded her, saying she told her she should not have washed her hair because of her cold. Miss Ruth was sewing on an old rug, which was coming apart. They have had this rug since before their mother's death, and it has been patched and dyed several times. The three sisters were, as usual, sitting around the living-room together.

Health.—Miss Ruth and Miss Fannie are feeling better now and their coughs are not so noticeable. They have been taking a patented medicine which they feel has done them a great deal of good. The bottle regularly costs \$1.25, but on Saturdays they can get it for 84 cents. Miss Margaret is beginning to cough now, and they want her to start taking the medicine. They have finished one bottle and as yet have not been able to buy another, but are hoping to be able to do so when they receive their checks. The three of them really look better than they ever have since Visitor has

known them. Visitor asked if they had gone to a doctor yet; Miss Ruth and Miss Fannie laughed and said that they had just told Miss Margaret that she should go to a doctor, but she has not done so as yet.

Such subjects as food and prices, relief and how wrongfully some recipients spend it, clothes and the advantage of bobbed hair, remembrances of their former days, their work, and friends were discussed during the visit. Their opinion of "old maids" is rather interesting, all of them being thoroughly convinced that every girl should marry; they know that they would be much better situated now if they had husbands. They all had chances to marry, but their mother interfered. She told neighbors that she would never allow her girls to marry because she wanted them to stay with her. When they did have men call to see them, their mother would look into the room and "stick out her tongue" at the men. All three seem to enjoy talking about their early life.

As Visitor was leaving she told Miss Margaret that she hoped she would have been to a doctor by the time of Visitor's next visit. Miss Margaret said she would.

Visitor's comment.—At this time it is apparent that all three sisters enjoy the visits immensely, and it seems to be almost their only contact with the outside world. Their acceptance of Visitor has been purely on a personal and social basis. They very noticeably withdraw when any emphasis is placed on finances or management, and they never mention the matter themselves.

February 7, 1936.5—Visited. The three sisters met Visitor at the door as they were leaving for afternoon services at St. Michael's Church, which is a walk of about two miles from their home. Visitor offered them a ride in her automobile, which they accepted in a friendly manner. During the ride they were friendly and talked about their health and clothing. Apparently they spend no money for new clothing but make over that which is given to them by friends.

Miss Ruth had attended early Mass on this day and had fainted after the services. She has not yet had medical attention. An early visit was promised.

Miss Ruth anxiously inquired about the former Visitor, and all three sisters expressed a liking for her. They readily accepted Visitor, however, and immediately became interested in her personal history. They seemed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Visitors in the district were changed following the last visit, and it will be noticed that eight months elapsed before the next worker called. This delay was due to the pressure of making investigation of new applications.

to appreciate this new opportunity to repeat their life-histories and to bemoan their "present fate."

March 31, 1936.—Visited. No one answered the door until Visitor called, when it was immediately opened by Miss Ruth, who evidently had been standing behind the door listening. She looked composed but unfriendly on opening the door but, upon recognizing Visitor, smiled and was friendly. Miss Margaret and Miss Fannie were attending Lenten services, and Miss Ruth was at home alone. Miss Ruth spoke of having been into the office with Miss Fannie the previous week while she was in town. She wished to greet Visitor and the former Visitor, but was told both were out.

Clothing.—Miss Ruth had been mending a woolen nightgown and showed Visitor the garment, which had been patched in many places and was worn thin. She also took from the closet a woolen dress which she made for herself twenty years ago and which she still wears as her best dress. The style is still suitable, but the dress is worn and faded. Miss Ruth showed these to Visitor with a manner which suggested pride at being able to manage to keep the clothing in good condition for so long, but not in any sense complaining.

The room was shabbily furnished and crowded, not in good order but clean. Beyond the living-room the kitchen could be seen, with a great many potted plants in stands.

Recreation.—Visitor inquired whether the Misses Bauer went out often. Miss Ruth said they know practically no one in the neighborhood and, in fact, are unfriendly with the neighbors. Visitor asked if the neighbors actually bothered them, to which Miss Ruth replied that they did not because the Misses Bauer have nothing to do with them. Most of their old friends are dead or scattered, but they occasionally visit the few that are left in Carrick.

Health.—Miss Fannie has had no seizures now for two months. In the past she has occasionally been that long without a seizure, but they have returned. Miss Margaret has been about the same, but has not gone to a doctor. Miss Ruth suffers from indigestion, for which she used to take a bit of nutmeg until a friend told her it was harmful to her, advising baking soda. She sometimes has to take soda after every meal to be relieved and asked if it would harm her. Visitor said that, as a temporary remedy, it probably was harmless, but that her trouble should be treated by a doctor and inquired when she had last seen one. Miss Ruth replied that she went to see Dr. Miller last year but she felt nothing could be done. He charges

\$2.00 a visit, which she thinks is reasonable. She has had no fainting spells since the end of February.

Food.—Miss Fannie does the marketing for groceries because it was she who managed the grocery store for twenty years after her father's death. She buys downtown, where she can shop around until she finds the lowest prices. She usually goes on Friday or Saturday and buys meat for the week end. They have no refrigerator but manage by cooking meat a little as soon as they get it. Visitor suggested looking for a box for the summer, but Miss Ruth felt the ice would cost too much. In the summer they use only canned milk and do not mind if the butter melts. Throughout the visit Miss Ruth was friendly while discussing general subjects, but she became more reserved when Visitor inquired about medical care or finances. She occasionally looked worried and tense during the conversation.

May 28, 1936.—Miss Ruth and Miss Fannie in office very much agitated. They said they had come to tell Visitor what "awful trouble" they were in. Several months ago the real estate company asked them to move and, when on May 1 they took the signed lease to the real estate office, the agent tore up the contract and said that they must move immediately because of the neighbors' complaints. They had been looking for houses for the past week but were unable to find anything. The previous morning they had found a constable's notice on their front door stating that they would have to move by the end of the week. They had just come from seeing their attorney, who advised them to move. Visitor arranged to call at the home on May 30 to look for rooms with them.

Later.—Telephoned Harry Freyer, attorney, who explained that he is a very old acquaintance of the family and that in recent years the women have been coming to him when they got into trouble and wished advice. He implied that he felt he had been somewhat imposed upon by their visits and would be glad for this agency to take over responsibility for them.

Telephoned Mr. Kirk, real estate agent, and explained that we would assist the family in securing a new place and asked that he not trouble them until we could notify him that we had found something. He agreed to do so. He believes this family could not get along in any other neighborhood unless they were completely by themselves, but could suggest no places available at this time within the price range that the family can pay.

May 30, 1936.—Visited. Miss Ruth and Miss Margaret were ready for Visitor when she arrived. All seemed somewhat calmer than on the day of

their visit to the office. Visitor reported to the family that they would not be disturbed until they have found a home. All three sisters were much relieved to have someone share their job of house-hunting.

July 2, 1936.—After visiting the family two or three times weekly and taking some member to look for a house, Visitor and the family were finally able to secure a place in Greenfield. Being unable to find a suitable place they wished to stay at their old address, but the real estate company finally forced them to move by a third constable's notice. All three are extremely bitter against the neighbors in their apartment house and against the real estate office. They believe that they are being maliciously persecuted because they are single and have no man in the family to defend them. They have been extremely friendly and appreciative of any effort expended in their behalf.

The house into which they will move, while not the most suitable to their needs, was the only thing available at this time. Their rooms are on the second floor of a modern brick house. They share the bath with the family on the first floor. The first floor tenants are a young married couple.

Later.—Talked to Dr. Miller regarding Miss Margaret. He said it was very difficult for him to get any information from her during the brief interviews he had with her in the past, because she was not willing to speak frankly of her illness. He believes that nothing can be done for her because of her advanced age but agreed that she might be helped by a sedative and requested Visitor to have her call to see him.

July 6, 1936.—Visitor has been seeing the family frequently during the past week. All their furniture and belongings are crowded into their new home in disorder and they have not had interest enough to arrange them. They are still in need of a stove and have been eating cold food. They are not satisfied with their new home because they have begun to believe that the man and woman from whom they rent are spying upon them.

Miss Margaret has repeatedly said she wished she could be cured of her extreme nervousness, but when Visitor has tried to plan to take her to the doctor at any specific time, she has always put it off.

#### ANALYSIS

Housing.—Living quarters at this time are unsatisfactory, as the family is forced to mingle with the landlord and his wife, who live on the first floor. The sisters have already become suspicious of the intentions of these people, and it is doubtful if a pleasant adjustment can be made here.

Health.—Health problems have been pushed to the background somewhat, due to the pressure of moving. Miss Margaret seems to be the only one who is much concerned with her health at present. She refuses treatment, however, and it would seem that her condition affords her much satisfaction. Miss Margaret and Miss Ruth seem to be in much better health than at the time of the investigation, probably because of more adequate food.

Emotional factors.—The moving experience was trying to all three sisters. The fact that they were requested to move was disgraceful to them and definitely a threat to their security. They seemed to expect guidance and reassurance from Visitor. Their acceptance of the agency has undergone considerable change since their application for assistance. They have consulted with the Visitor on many occasions and seem to place much importance on her suggestions. The relationship has been maintained on a friendly, personal basis.

#### PLAN

- Arrange for more adequate housing, preferably a house where there would be little contact with neighbors
- Continue working with the family on a friendly basis, furnishing as much security as seems advisable
- 3. Continue to urge medical care and a healthful diet
- Attempt to reopen interests which they had in the past, such as housekeeping and sewing

July 24, 1936.6—Visited. As Visitor was going up the stairs, which were quite dark, she noticed some figures in the hall. When they heard someone coming, they scurried into the rooms and, when Visitor arrived at the top of the steps, she saw a head sticking out of each door. Visitor explained who she was, and somewhat reluctantly they acknowledged the fact that they were "the Bauer girls." Miss Ruth in a low voice asked Visitor into the kitchen. Only she and Miss Margaret were present during the entire interview. Miss Fannie had got up quite early this morning to visit the cemetery where her parents are buried. It has been a practice of the sisters to go to the cemetery after every heavy rain to remove the weeds from the graves.

Living conditions.—The house was in great disorder and its occupants in a depressed state of mind. Miss Margaret proceeded to inform Visitor of their "awful circumstances" which were "a disgrace to people raised as they were." She went on to describe their early home and how kind their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A second change of visitors was made at this time.

parents had been to them. Almost in the next breath she was telling how hard they had to work and what a trial it had been for them to support their mother, whom they would not allow to work. They are dissatisfied with their present living arrangements. Their landlord, they think, is spying upon them and is, in their estimation, "the nebbiest person ever." About the time they were telling Visitor this, there were steps upon the stairs and both women jumped nervously. When the noise stopped Miss Ruth moved close to Visitor and knowingly shook her finger, saying, "That's her." Whereupon both women spoke in whispers and requested Visitor to do the same.

They have taken no interest in their new home and have not attempted to make it livable. They feel that it is a disgrace to live in such a filthy house and cannot imagine what kind of people must have lived there before. Although the house was not as clean as it might have been, it would not have taken much effort to clean it well. It is, however, not suitable to their needs. They occupy three rooms, each of which opens into a small hallway. The bath, which is shared by the family downstairs, is in the hall, which means that they have little privacy. If they wish to go from one room to another they must go out into the hall. There is no connecting door between any of the rooms. Also, the rooms are quite small and the furniture which they have is old fashioned and very large. Miss Ruth complained that when they get a bed set up in a room they can put nothing else in it. They pay \$27 a month rent, which includes their gas and electric light. They do not plan to put any carpet on the floor, since the rooms are so small and they would have to crawl under beds and around furniture to keep it clean.

Food.—Both Miss Margaret and Miss Ruth are very thin and look undernourished. Visitor inquired about a stove and learned that they have not had a cooked meal since they moved into the house. They bought a stove on the South Side, but it has not been delivered as yet and they do not know when they will get it. Miss Fannie plans to stop at the store and inquire about it. They have been existing mostly on coffee and canned food which they can eat without cooking. The coffee is prepared on the stove of their landlady. Visitor suggested that they would probably be permitted to cook other food on the landlady's stove, but they felt that it would be "an awful disgrace to ask her." They do not even buy fresh milk but use canned milk. Visitor suggested that it was impossible for any person to be healthy on such a diet. Miss Margaret approvingly shook her head in perfect agreement; however, she feels that "such is their lot" and there is nothing they can do about it. She became

very depressed and showed evidence of weeping as she spoke of their circumstances.

Health.—Miss Margaret reverted to the subject of her health, about which there has been considerable discussion. Visitor immediately offered to make arrangements at the clinic and suggested that there were many things doctors could do for nervous conditions such as hers and that it was the duty of each person to keep a healthy body if possible. Miss Ruth explained that Miss Margaret's condition was a result of the hard work she had done when she was young. Miss Margaret would not permit Visitor to make arrangements for her at the clinic. She wants more time to think it over.

Attitude toward property agreements.—Visitor brought up the matter of property agreements which were to be signed as required by the Old Age Assistance Act.<sup>7</sup> Both Miss Margaret and Miss Ruth became very much alarmed and almost hysterical. Miss Margaret remarked that they had had nothing but trouble since they have been getting "old age pensions." After many explanations and examples they finally said that they understood and asked Visitor to leave the agreements for Miss Fannie to sign at the same time.

Recreation.—Neither Miss Margaret nor Miss Ruth has any recreation. Their friends, they say, are all on the North Side. They know very few people in their present neighborhood. Miss Ruth stated that Miss Margaret is a "recognized pianist." Everyone has heard of her, and she used to have many requests to play at various entertainments. According to Miss Ruth, they all sing and used to be called "The Bauer Trio." Visitor suggested that perhaps they would play and sing for her some time. Miss Margaret looked rather surprised and feebly said she "couldn't think of it." "She hasn't played for years," said Miss Ruth; however, they were apparently pleased with Visitor's suggestion.

Both Miss Margaret and Miss Ruth were very curious about Visitor and inquired where her home was, how long it took her to come to work, and how many brothers and sisters she had. They were very much interested in the food she ate and asked many questions as to her likes and dislikes. They asked about the previous visitor and wondered if Visitor had ever seen her husband.

July 25, 1936.—Miss Margaret and Miss Ruth in office. As Visitor was not in, they spoke with another visitor. They came in to say that they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> A new Old Age Assistance Act with provision for reimbursement was followed by an administrative ruling that all recipients sign a "property agreement." This practice was later discontinued.

would not sign the property agreements because it would be "signing their rights away." They were apparently very much perturbed and gave a very long account of their troubles.

July 28, 1936.—Miss Fannie in office. She seemed very tired and warm and explained that she had been traveling about town all morning. She was very peculiarly dressed in old-fashioned black apparel and wore white gloves. Miss Fannie wanted a "first-hand explanation" of the property agreements. Visitor explained them to her and told her that, according to a new ruling, it was not necessary that they be signed now, although the provisions of the agreement would remain in force. Miss Fannie said she would have no objections to signing them and she could persuade her sisters to do so if necessary. According to her, she is the business woman of the family and understands "about such things."

The family has secured no stove as yet, but it is supposed to be delivered Wednesday. Visitor urged Miss Fannie to secure a stove if possible and suggested purchasing a cheap electric stove at the drug store. Miss Fannie was aghast at such a suggestion and felt that this would be a waste of "pension money." She went on to explain how difficult it was for her at home. She cannot talk anything over with Miss Margaret because of her nervous condition. She tries to keep everything which might alarm Miss Margaret to herself, although she occasionally discusses such things with Miss Ruth, "who understands."

Miss Fannie was worried for fear her sisters had hurt the feelings of the worker with whom they talked on Saturday. She commented upon the "nice people" she had met in the office and especially liked the supervisor.

July 30, 1936. Board action.—Miss Fannie's budget was increased to \$21 to allow for increased rent. The grants are as follows at this time:

Item	Miss Fannie	Miss Margaret	Miss Ruth
Rent	\$ 6	\$ 0	\$15
Food	9	9	9
Fuel	2	2	2
Clothing	4	4	4
Total	\$21	\$15	\$30

The total income in the household is now \$66.8

<sup>8</sup> At this time the law had been changed, allowing a maximum of \$30 per month to each beneficiary with the exception of a beneficiary and spouse whose maximum rental allowance is \$20. There is, however, no limitation on the amount of rent paid by anyone other than a married couple.

August 14, 1936.—Visited. The kitchen was somewhat cleaner than on the previous visit, but still there had been no effort to arrange the furniture in a homelike manner. There was no carpet on the floor, and the floor seemed to have been scrubbed many times. The stove which they bought had arrived and was set up. Neither Miss Margaret nor Miss Fannie approved of the stove. It is a small, flat-topped gas range, quite modern in appearance. They stated that they have no trouble with it but they much prefer the "old-fashioned kind."

Conversation was much the same as it had been on the previous visit. The three sisters took turns in discussing their unfortunate plight. They are very dissatisfied with their rooms, which are no doubt uncomfortable. All three would like to move to more desirable quarters, but they feel the strain of moving would be too much for them to bear at present. Visitor suggested that they look around during their leisure time for a more desirable place and said she would do the same. She suggested that if they wished to pay more rent it could be managed, as their allowance could be raised. This announcement brought storms of protest, as they believe they are using too much as it is.

Later.—Called at Hamilton Real Estate Company to inquire about houses in the neighborhood. The clerk advised that they would be careful in renting to this family since they were known to be "trouble-makers." She suggested that they should have a place to themselves. This company had several apartments vacant but none which they would recommend to the sisters. The clerk suggested that Visitor keep in touch with them at regular intervals for possible vacancies.

October 9, 1936.—Visited. Miss Fannie told Visitor how glad she was to see her, because they have been having some "awful troubles." Visitor never did find out what these troubles were except for their dissatisfaction with their present living quarters. They had not looked elsewhere. Miss Fannie feels that she is not able to do so. The rooms were no more homelike than on the first visit. The floor is bare, and small articles are scattered around.

Health.—Miss Ruth has lost considerable weight. She now weighs only 98 pounds. When she moved to their present quarters she weighed 118. She attributes this to worry. All three were anxious to thank Visitor for the increase in grant. They said that they just couldn't decide "whether it was right to take it or not, but they decided that they really needed it to live." Conversation was the same as on previous visits, mainly concerned with the tragedy of their lives and the disgrace that they are now in. Visitor promised to look up some houses for them to see. They liked

this idea but did not feel that they could stand another move, as it has worn all of them out physically.

December 5, 1936. Plans to move.—Miss Ruth and Miss Fannie in office; in Visitor's absence they spoke with the supervisor. Both were dressed in warm, fur-trimmed coats, outmoded in style but neat in appearance. They wanted to discuss their landlord's recent behavior. He is annoyed with them and talks of them as being queer. He threatened to have them brought before an alderman. Miss Fannie said she openly quarreled with him and dared him to do so. He is not carrying out his written agreement to furnish them with heat and hot water; they have had insufficient quantities of both and have actually suffered. When asked why they did not instal an extra stove, both said they were afraid to do this because the landlord made life so unpleasant for them. They are, as a result, very unhappy in their present quarters and want to move. They would like an apartment with private entrance and would like to stay in the Greenfield or Squirrel Hill section so that they will be near St. Michael's Church.

Attitude toward Miss Margaret.—Both deplored the present state of Miss Margaret's health and referred to her as being "more nervous than ever." Miss Fannie is sleeping with Miss Margaret now and is getting very little rest as a result. Although they realize that Miss Margaret is a disturbing element, both spoke of her affectionately and said they would always try to take the best care of her. Upon learning that the supervisor had never met Miss Margaret, they offered to bring her to the office some day. Supervisor urged that they do so when the weather is clear, as it would offer an opportunity for Miss Margaret to have an excursion to town and would probably be good for her. Miss Fannie and Miss Ruth agreed that they liked to come to town, as it was a change from the monotony of being confined to their very small quarters.

February 1, 1937.—Miss Ruth in office. She came to tell Visitor about the "awful trouble" they were in. They have to move on March 1 and they have no place to go. The landlord has issued a notice to vacate. The notice had been issued in November, but Visitor had never been informed about it. Miss Ruth said they intended to ignore it but decided that they had better do something about it as they do not like the rooms anyhow. They have had several quarrels with the people downstairs, and Miss Ruth told Visitor in no uncertain terms "what kind of people they are."

Miss Fannie has sprained her knee. She fell coming home from church last Sunday and "tore a ligament." Some people had to help her home. They called Dr. Miller, who told her to stay off her foot for a few days and

said he would return to see her. Miss Ruth knows that her leg will be stiff and that it may "never heal." Miss Ruth was very despondent and cannot understand why people treat them "so mean" when they are such "good girls."

Visitor made arrangements to go with Miss Ruth to look for a house on Wednesday afternoon. Visitor told Miss Ruth to look in the newspapers for possible advertisements. Miss Ruth explained that they got a newspaper only on Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. They cannot afford to buy a paper every day and, besides, it takes them this length of time to read one.

February 3, 1937.—Called at Hamilton Real Estate Company and spoke with Mr. Hamilton, who knows the Misses Bauer well. He has no house available which he would rent to them, because they are such disagreeable neighbors. He remarked that if he had a house in the middle of a "ten-acre field" he would be glad to let them have it, as they are good pay. Later, obtained rent lists from other companies.

Later, Medical report,-Called at Dr. Miller's office. He has known the family for many years and considers himself their family physician. He finds them very interesting and enjoys talking with them. Visitor was anxious to know the condition of Miss Fannie's leg. Dr. Miller said it was badly torn and that she should not have walked on it at once, but now she refuses to step on it at all, and he is having a hard time convincing her that she must try to walk on it. Dr. Miller stated that if she gets the idea she cannot walk on it firmly placed in her mind, she will be unable to do so. Dr. Miller considers Miss Margaret the most intelligent one of the sisters. but her melancholia prevents her from leading a normal existence. She is probably more healthy than either Miss Ruth or Miss Fannie. Dr. Miller stated that he does not charge them the full fee, as they are always in need of money. He has noticed that since they have been receiving old age assistance they have been less willing to pay their doctor fees than before. He surmises that they probably have money stored away. He offered to co-operate with Visitor in planning for them.

Later.—Visited. As Visitor went upstairs there was the usual hush, and it was several minutes before the door was opened. All three were in the kitchen, scurrying about, apparently putting things out of sight. Miss Fannie was sitting in a chair with her leg bandaged until it was about three times its normal size. She immediately started on "their troubles." She told Visitor about the quarrel with the landlord. One morning Miss Fannie was cleaning the floors in the bedroom, and the landlord came up and proceeded to "call her down." He threatened to have her arrested

for "hu-milating" his wife. Miss Fannie said that she shook her fist at him and told him "to go right ahead, that they would have something to say in the squire's office." She became excited while telling this story and stood up on one foot. She held on to the table with one hand and used the other hand to make violent gestures. When she finished, Miss Margaret started to cry; tears came to Miss Ruth's eyes also, but Miss Fannie ordered them to "quit sniffling" because "they had done nothing to be ashamed of." Miss Fannie told Visitor what an awful time they had with Miss Margaret, who "pesters them" all the time. Miss Ruth was ready to go with Visitor to look for a house. She was warmly dressed and had on her best suit, which she made about fifteen years ago. When she left Miss Margaret told her to take three cents and bring home a paper.

As soon as Miss Ruth got in the car she told Visitor she had found a house on Bradley Avenue. Visitor suggested that they go to see it first. This house is located at 3413 Bradley Avenue and is the second floor of a duplex. It has a private entrance from the front and a private entrance in the rear. Visitor and Miss Ruth went through the house. It contains five medium-sized rooms, and the view from each room is quite lovely. The only disadvantage is the number of steps which must be climbed to reach it. Visitor suggested that they inquire about the house from the real estate agent.

Interest in future neighbors.—As Visitor and Miss Ruth were leaving, Visitor lost Miss Ruth but found her peeping in the window of the next door first-floor apartment. Then she went onto the porch and peered in the kitchen door. The lady of the house noticed her and opened the door. Miss Ruth, in a very pleasant voice, asked if this was the house where the woman committed suicide several months ago. The woman was quite pleasant and told Miss Ruth that the family had moved. Miss Ruth seemed satisfied and followed Visitor down the walk.

Later.—After a visit to Hein's Real Estate Company, where it was learned that the Bradley Avenue house rents for \$40, Visitor and Miss Ruth went to many other houses in the Greenfield and Hazelwood districts, but none of them was at all suitable as they were directly connected with another family and, in most of them, the bathroom had to be shared. Miss Ruth was very conscious of the fact that they need a place for themselves and seemed well pleased with the house on Bradley Avenue. Visitor pointed out the main drawback there would be the gas heat, which would be expensive and not entirely adequate. Miss Ruth however, did not seem very much concerned about this. She pointed out

that they have several gas stoves and could make some arrangement for other heat next winter.

While in Hazelwood Miss Ruth pointed out an Isaly store and asked Visitor if she had ever been in one. Miss Ruth said she had been in one only once, after she and Miss Fannie had looked in the window at the one on the North Side. Visitor suggested that they stop in. Miss Ruth was very much pleased. When Visitor asked her what she would like to have she became very much embarrassed and said that "anything would do." Finally, she decided to have "chocolate cream."

Miss Ruth dreads the idea of moving again because the last time was so terrible. Visitor advised that they select their house early in the month and make all arrangements so that there will be no last-minute rush. Visitor took Miss Ruth home and advised her to talk the matter over with her sisters and then get in touch with Visitor.

February 10, 1937.—Visited. All three sisters were in the kitchen, as usual. It was apparent that there is a nervous tension among them, for they were curt and cross with each other. Miss Fannie ordered Miss Margaret to "shut up" and "stop crying" several times. Miss Margaret does not like the house on Bradley Avenue. She knows that she could never live there. However, Miss Ruth and Miss Fannie think that they will be satisfied with it, as no other place seems available. Visitor suggested that they go to the McKenzie Title and Trust Company directly to see what arrangements could be made about the rent. Miss Ruth decided to go that morning, and, as Visitor was going to town later, she offered to take her in.

Later.—Called for Miss Ruth, who was waiting for Visitor. She was very much amazed at the short time it took to get to town in an automobile. When she and Visitor arrived in town Miss Ruth decided that she had neglected to put on her woolen undershirt; she became alarmed and almost decided to go home for it. However, she went to the McKenzie Title and Trust Company and promised to let Visitor know what happened.

February 23, 1937.—Miss Fannie in office. As Visitor had been ill, Miss Fannie was anxious to know how she was and expressed the deep concern of herself and her sisters over Visitor's health.

Decision to take house.—The family had decided to take the house on Bradley Avenue but several complications had arisen. When Miss Ruth went to the McKenzie Title and Trust Company she did not tell them that she was dealing with Hein's Real Estate Company, and they sent her to Mr. Hamilton. Miss Margaret and Miss Ruth went to Mr. Hamil-

ton, but he was evasive as to whether he would rent the house to them or not. He told them that they would have to give references. Miss Fannie wanted Visitor to call Hein's to see if the house is still available through them.

Telephoned Mr. James at Hein's Real Estate Company and told him that the Misses Bauer would take the house.

Miss Fannie was pleased and relieved when she learned that they could get the house. She decided to go home at once to tell her sisters. She had further complaints to make about the people downstairs.....

Plans to move.—Visited later to tell the family that Mr. James had a lease for them to sign and that he wanted to see them as soon as possible so that repairs could be undertaken. Miss Fannie said that she would go down the following day. They were worried about getting a truck to move them. They insisted that they must have a moving van, as they do not want their belongings scratched. They asked Visitor to make arrangements, and Miss Fannie said that anyone Visitor got would be satisfactory. Miss Margaret wrung her hands and moaned during the interview. She does not want to move. Miss Ruth is also having misgivings about the house because there is a thirteen in the number. Visitor attempted to reassure them.

February 24, 1937.—Telephone call in from Mr. James asking if the Misses Bauer had made any further plans. Visitor asked about the cleaning of the house, and Mr. James promised that this would be taken care of, as well as the papering and painting. Mr. James seemed genuinely interested and suggested that if the Misses Bauer could find another desirable old person, they might rent a room to her.

February 25, 1937. Board action.—Miss Margaret's grant increased from \$15 to \$30 to provide for increased rent. The grants are now as follows: Miss Fannie, \$21, Miss Margaret, \$30, and Miss Ruth, \$30. A total of \$81 monthly.

February 27, 1937.—Miss Fannie in office. She was on her way to the light company and the gas company. Visitor asked her to wait while she telephoned for definite arrangements with the transfer company, from whom a price had been obtained that was acceptable to Miss Fannie.

Miss Fannie went to Mr. James the previous afternoon and signed the lease. She seemed in a composed frame of mind and is pleased that all arrangements have been made. She dreads moving-day, mostly because Miss Margaret is such a trial at anything like that. Miss Fannie asked if Visitor would be present on Monday morning and, before Visitor could

answer, she said she hoped so, as she knew things would go better if they had someone to look after them.

March 1, 1937. Moving-day.—Visited. When Visitor arrived at about ten o'clock, the house and the three sisters were in an uproar. The movers had arrived, but nothing was packed and Miss Fannie would not allow the men to take anything out until she had inspected it. Miss Margaret was beside herself in a state of nervous excitement. She wrung her hands and moaned, walking from room to room. Miss Fannie drew Visitor aside and told her that nothing had been done to the house; no cleaning had been done nor had the repairs been started. Miss Fannie had gone to see Mr. James, and she told Visitor how "mean" he had been. As the movers were very anxious to get through, Visitor helped with the packing and, with the help of Miss Fannie, got things under way.

In the midst of packing dishes Miss Ruth stopped and told Visitor she had something for her. She went to the cupboard and produced a glass of jelly. They had been going through some of their canned goods the day before and decided that they wanted to give this particular glass to Visitor. Visitor thanked them profusely, and wrapped the glass carefully to take it home.

Visitor took Miss Fannie and a few of their very personal belongings down in the car. It was true that the house had not been touched. Visitor left Miss Fannie there to await the movers and went to telephone the light and gas companies.

Later.—Returned to the house and found that the movers had arrived. Visitor then went back to the old address and offered to take Miss Ruth and Miss Margaret to their new home. Miss Margaret was certain that the movers would steal everything they had and was very anxious to get to the new house. Visitor noticed that although Miss Margaret is considered incapable of helping about the house she is the one who knows where everything is and who remembers all the small details. As Visitor had another appointment she had to leave, much to the distress of the sisters who made her promise faithfully to return later.

Later.—When Visitor returned again to the house the movers were almost finished. None of the sisters was making any move to direct the men as to where the furniture should be placed. The gas had not been turned on, nor had the lights been connected. Miss Margaret was "driving Miss Fannie crazy." When Visitor was in one room she heard a commotion in the other and went out to see Miss Fannie shaking Miss Margaret and striking her with her knee. She turned Miss Margaret around very abruptly, set her down in a chair, and told her not to bother

her any more. As Visitor planned to go to the real estate agent, she asked Miss Margaret, who was very cold, to accompany her. Miss Margaret wept the whole way there and the whole way home.

Later.—At Hein's Real Estate office, Visitor spoke with Mr. James, who said that the lease had not been signed in time to have the cleaning and papering done. He promised to have men do the work at the beginning of the week and to send a man to connect the stoves at about 5 P.M.

Later.—When Visitor returned to the house the gas and electricity had been turned on. The Misses Bauer seemed exhausted, and Visitor helped them to set up the beds and light the gas in the bathroom and one bedroom. The man came to connect the stove before Visitor left. All three sisters were exhausted and planned to retire early.

March 2, 1937.—Change of address slip sent through.

March 15, 1937.—Miss Fannie in office. She was very anxious to know how Visitor was and said that they had all been thinking about her when she had been ill. Miss Fannie lamented the fact that Mr. James had promised to have the place cleaned but had not done so. However, the house has been papered throughout and the kitchen painted. Miss Fannie seemed in better spirits than she had been for some time and looked more rested. She said that no one had bothered them since they had moved, and they were very thankful for that. They also enjoy having their own bath. There are several things which Miss Fannie feels should be done, but when she goes to see Mr. James she forgets them. Visitor wrote these out for her and gave them to her. She asked that Visitor return soon.

March 19, 1937.—Visited. Miss Fannie wore a clean house dress and her hair had recently been combed. The house was quite warm. The furniture had not been arranged as yet, but it had been thoroughly cleaned, Miss Fannie explained. All three were very anxious to know what Visitor thought of the paper and kitchen paint and seemed very much pleased when Visitor admired them. They explained that they are taking things very easy but feel that they can really fix the place up comfortably.

All three sisters seemed in very good spirits throughout the interview. Miss Margaret looked well and her general attitude has improved considerably. She did not lament their fate once and joined in the general conversation, which centered around arranging the furniture and making plans for the future. They do not use the hot water as it takes too much gas to heat it. Miss Margaret inquired about the old age assistance checks, which they have not received. She was anxious to know whether they would get them before it was time to pay their rent. Visitor ex-

plained that the change of address had probably not gone through in time to be taken care of. No comment was made upon this explanation.

Mr. James has promised that more repairs shall be made on the house in May, when the company will make repairs on other houses. Miss Fannie remarked that he has been very nice to them since they moved.

Visitor told the Misses Bauer that the supervisor was very anxious to see their new home and that she was coming with Visitor to visit as soon as they are fixed up. The Misses Bauer are very fond of the supervisor and were delighted to think that she would come to their home. They invited Visitor to return and thanked her for everything she had done when they moved. Miss Fannie remarked that they certainly had been well treated by everyone at the old age assistance office and said that they appreciated it.

March 22, 1937.—Checked February pay roll. All three names are included, but the address has not been changed. (Later learned through the Squirrel Hill Post Office that the checks had been returned to the state office.)

March 24, 1937.—Letter sent to financial division of state office requesting that checks be forwarded to proper address. [Omitted.]

April 5, 1937. Payment of rent.—Miss Fannie in office. She came into the office [to discuss date of paying rent and was referred to Mr. James]. . . . . She asked that Visitor come to see them soon.

April 29, 1937. Unsettled home conditions.—Visited. Visitor heard Miss Fannie urging Miss Margaret to be quiet. Miss Fannie smiled pleasantly at Visitor and invited her in. She immediately seemed to remember something and threw up her hands, telling Visitor that they were "having a terrible time getting settled." She urged Visitor to look around to see what terrible condition things were in. Visitor noticed that, for the most part, the furniture had not been moved and was in the same position in which the movers had placed it.

All three sisters stood about Visitor and remarked upon each part of her apparel. They commented on the thin stockings she always wore and asked if she didn't suffer from severe colds. Miss Ruth then remarked that she didn't believe people who did not bundle themselves in woolen clothes caught as many colds as those who did. Miss Fannie, however, remarked that it would be impossible for them to quit wearing their heavy clothing, as they had always been used to it.

Visitor questioned them about the arrangement of their furniture and how they planned to place it. They do not intend to do anything until they find out definitely whether the real estate agent is going to do anything in the form of repairs. Visitor could not determine exactly what they wanted aside from having the lights fixed and the cellar repaired so that it can be used to store things. Miss Fannie said that the cellar is unfit to use for storing and they cannot move any furniture around until they find a place to store what they will not be using. . . . .

Miss Fannie's paintings.—After the three finished discussing the plight of not being able to arrange their furniture, they settled down to a more pleasant conversation. Miss Fannie went into the front room and brought back three handpainted plates. Two of these had been painted with oil paints. Miss Fannie very proudly explained to Visitor that she used to do this. The plates were quite well done and very pretty. Miss Fannie explained that she used to take a picture and enlarge it in color on plates. There was one quite large china plate on which she had painted a brightly colored garden scene which had been on a small calendar in their home. They plan to put this plate on the mantel for decoration and to hang the other two on the wall. Visitor commented on this work, which pleased Miss Fannie exceedingly. Visitor asked if she couldn't do some of the work now, but Miss Fannie said that the turpentine in the paint causes her to have "spells." Miss Ruth remarked that they "are really very talented," and that she and Miss Margaret could have been "great musicians" and Miss Fannie could certainly have been a "great artist" if they had had the chance.

Miss Ruth was anxious to know what was going on as far as the constitutionality of the old age assistance plan in the Supreme Court was concerned, and they were all very much interested in Visitor's explanation.

Visitor asked the Misses Bauer to consider fixing their rooms up as soon as possible, as the supervisor was anxious to call upon them. They told Visitor not to bring her until they had everything arranged. Miss Ruth remarked that they would try to get ready for her visit because they would not want anyone except Visitor to see them as they are. All three accompanied Visitor to the door, and Miss Fannie walked down the steps with her.

June 16, 1937.—Visited. The door was cautiously opened by Miss Fannie. Her first remarks were about the physical condition of all three of them. She mentioned how difficult it was for them to manage with the trouble which Miss Margaret causes. Miss Margaret was present when Miss Fannie made this statement, and a most unhappy look came to her face.

Housing arrangements.—They are still planning to arrange their furniture, but are now concentrating on getting the furniture reconditioned.

It was stored in a few rooms for such a long time that it is difficult for them to get it clean. All three sisters look more rested than on previous visits; however, they do not admit that they feel any better.

Miss Ruth asked Visitor to come in to the front room to see how they had arranged some pictures on the wall. This room is quite small, and there are at least twenty pictures of members of the family hanging on the walls. There is a large one of the Misses Bauer's father, and also a small one of their mother. Standing on the mantel there is a picture of Miss Margaret taken when she was about twenty-three years old. She was apparently a very attractive young girl. Her hair was elaborately arranged, and she wore a dress which had a high neckline and was trimmed with lace which, Miss Fannie assured Visitor, was "of the best."

Music.—While Miss Fannie and Miss Ruth were showing Visitor the contents of this room, Visitor noticed that the piano was open and that there was some music on it. Visitor touched one of the keys and commented on the nice tone. Miss Ruth immediately sat down and played a few scales. She then started to hum a tune and, when she did this, Miss Margaret velled to her to stop. Miss Ruth, however, paid no attention and kept on. Finally, she motioned to Miss Fannie to come over. After whispering together, they started to sing to Miss Ruth's accompaniment. They stopped and called Miss Margaret to come into the room to help them. She made a great fuss but finally came, and they sang a part of the Mass called the "Benedictus" in Latin. Their voices blended together quite well and, although Miss Margaret disapproved very heartily, she joined in with as much pleasure as Miss Ruth and Miss Fannie. Miss Ruth tried to persuade Miss Margaret to play the accompaniment, assuring Visitor that Miss Margaret was a much more accomplished musician, but Miss Margaret refused to do this. When the piece was over Miss Margaret scolded them and said the neighbors would think they "were crazy."

No mention was made of finances at any time during the interview. Miss Ruth was very much interested in Visitor's dress and anxious to know how much it cost. She thinks the price of clothing at present is "terrific" and told Visitor about the "beautiful dresses" she used to buy for 50 cents.

Miss Ruth was anxious to know whether any change would be made in the old age assistance fund. She had noticed the articles in the papers about the establishment of a bureau of assistance which would handle all services. She wished to know if this would make any change in Visitor's work. Visitor explained the new setup to them and told them that there would be no immediate changes. Miss Ruth shook her head approvingly and stated that she thought things should be left as they are.

As Visitor was leaving Miss Fannie seemed to remember something which she wished to tell Visitor. She said that they had had trouble with the man downstairs. All three sisters assumed very martyred attitudes and again told Visitor about the people persecuting them. They related an incident of disagreement with the woman downstairs. Miss Fannie assured Visitor that these people were "not very much" and that she intends to ignore them completely. She feels bad about this, as she knows that their children like her and wish to talk with her; however, she does not feel that she can talk to them because of what their parents are. Visitor felt that there was not so much emphasis put on this occurrence as on previous disturbances. Miss Fannie related the incident and it was discussed lightly.

All three sisters inquired about the supervisor and told Visitor to be sure not to bring her to visit until they have given their permission.

July 29, 1937.—Visited. Miss Fannie came to the door and greeted Visitor. An old-fashioned curtain had been hung in the hallway leading to the door and the stairs had been carpeted with dark red brussels carpet. The hallway had been thoroughly cleaned and presented a cheerful appearance. Miss Fannie apologized for not having been in to the office to see Visitor but remarked that she and Miss Ruth are "teetotal wrecks" from the work they have been doing.

Appearance of the house.—All the furniture in the house has been completely cleaned, and the rooms present a cheerful appearance. The arrangement of the furniture is old fashioned as are the furnishings themselves. Carpet has been laid in every room, most of which had been cleaned and put away when they moved to Second Street and had not been opened since. However, the color has been retained and the carpet in the middle room is of a bright red. They bought some paint and repainted a small stand which they had to match the carpet. Miss Ruth got out a number of her white ruffled cushion covers and covered many cushions, which are on chairs in the rooms. The furniture has been neatly arranged. All the windows and blinds have been cleaned, and many efforts have been made to make the home comfortable and homelike. During the visit Miss Ruth was getting curtains ready to hang. These are curtains which were used by their mother but which are still in good condition. Miss Fannie remarked that the house was "beginning to look like something." All three seemed pleased when complimented upon the appearance of the rooms. They took Visitor through every room and out to

the front porch to see their plants. There are at least thirty-five small straggly ones which Miss Fannie is coaxing to grow. She has a special plant which she is planning to give Visitor in the fall.

Interest in birds.—Miss Ruth told Miss Fannie to tell Visitor about the family which she has adopted. Miss Fannie chuckled and told Visitor about the birds which come to their back porch. Miss Fannie thinks she has made friends with these birds and that they come to her especially. She feeds them three times a day and is very pleased that they seem to ignore Miss Ruth and Miss Margaret and will come only when she takes food to them. Miss Ruth laughingly said it was a treat to hear Miss Fannie talk to these birds. Miss Fannie hopes all the birds will not go south in the winter. She knows some of them by name and is interested in learning more about them. She reads all she can about birds in the newspapers.

Miss Margaret went over a number of things which the real estate agent had promised to have done for them but which have not been attended to. Their chief complaint is still about the cellar. The agent promised that this would be cleaned in the future. Miss Margaret is afraid that if further expense is incurred, they will want to increase the rent, and she stated that of course Visitor understood that they could pay no more rent.

Visitor explained that she will be on her vacation from the middle of August to the middle of September. They were anxious to know what plans Visitor had made for her vacation and wondered why she did not plan to spend the entire vacation with her parents. They feel that any person who has parents living is most fortunate. Miss Margaret, in a very quavering voice, said that if her parents were living she would not be in the state she is in now.

October 20, 1937.—Visited. Miss Fannie shook hands and expressed her pleasure in seeing Visitor again. She called to her sisters and led Visitor through the living-room into the dining-room, where Miss Margaret and Miss Ruth were both standing, smiling. Both came forward and offered to shake hands. They remarked that they had missed her visits during the past six weeks. They immediately got a chair, took Visitor's coat, and sat down around her.

The house was very clean. Curtains have been hung at most of the windows, and the house now presents a cheerful appearance. The plants which Miss Fannie had on the porch all summer have been brought indoors, and it has not been definitely decided just where they are to be placed as yet. Miss Ruth made drapes to shut off the living-room from the dining-room, as it was impossible to heat this room with the stove

which they have. These drapes were made from material which their mother used in their home on the North Side. They very proudly showed them and told of the good quality of the material.

Miss Ruth's accident.—The major topic of conversation during the interview was that of Miss Ruth's accident which occurred almost a month ago. The sisters did a large washing and were attempting to hang the clothes in the back yard. Miss Ruth got up on a chair to fasten a clothes line to the post and slipped off the chair, scraping her leg and incurring a deep cut. She showed the cut which was a deep gash in the middle of her leg; however, it is healing nicely. Visitor inquired why no doctor had been called and Miss Fannie, in a disgusted tone, assured Visitor that Miss Ruth just kept putting off having the doctor. They have taken good care of the wound and have been careful to sterilize all materials which they have used. Miss Ruth asked if Visitor thought it advisable at this time to see a doctor. She does not wish to, and Visitor suggested that unless the wound became painful or did not continue to heal, it probably was unnecessary at this time.

Plants.—Miss Fannie has a plant which she is anxious to give Visitor. Last summer Visitor admired one which was on the porch, and Miss Fannie immediately took a cutting and started it for Visitor. Now it is well rooted and she feels that Visitor can take it home if she will take good care of it. Visitor was given full instructions for caring for the plant and was told exactly how it should be watered. Miss Fannie had taken the plant to the office the previous day, along with one for the supervisor. However, as Visitor was not in she did not want to leave it as she was "afraid that the woman at the reception desk liked it too well and that Visitor would not get it." Visitor exclaimed over the plant and promised to take good care of it. The plant which they had for the supervisor had become broken on the street-car ride home, and Miss Fannie will not give it to the supervisor until she has an opportunity to get it in good condition again. When it is ready to be given to the supervisor, Miss Fannie will come to the office and notify Visitor so that she may bring the supervisor out to get the plant.

Heating facilities.—Visitor attempted to discuss with the Misses Bauer the heating facilities of the apartment. Since there is no furnace the apartment is heated by gas. They planned to depend entirely upon the one gas stove which they have in the dining-room. Visitor suggested a circulating heater, but all three seemed completely satisfied and do not wish to make any changes. . . . . There has been no further trouble with the landlord. The sisters have no complaints about the apartment. At no time during

the interview was any dissatisfaction expressed with their living arrangements. No mention was made of neighbors, and apparently none of the Misses Bauer had become acquainted with them.

Visit of friend.—While Visitor was there, a Mrs. Hendiman of Bounty Street came to call. She is an old friend of the family and, according to them, is quite wealthy. She brought with her a coat which she wished Miss Ruth to shorten. Miss Ruth had shortened two dresses belonging to Mrs. Hendiman's daughter. She had done an excellent job on them and Mrs. Hendiman was pleased. She gave the Misses Bauer some family news in which they were very much interested. She already knew who Visitor was. She paid \$1.00 for the work which had been done, and, after she left, the Misses Bauer told a great deal of her life-history. The Misses Bauer enjoy Mrs. Hendiman's infrequent visits, and Miss Ruth particularly enjoys sewing for her.

When Visitor suggested leaving after having visited for about an hour and a half, all three sisters exclaimed and remarked that the time had passed so quickly. They all went to the door and invited her to return soon. Miss Fannie, remembering the plant, promised to come to the office as soon as it is ready to be given away.

#### ANALYSIS

Living quarters at this time are more adequate than they have ever been. There is sufficient space; there are modern facilities and pleasant surroundings. The home is easily accessible to their church. Some effort has been made to arrange the furniture. The Misses Bauer have saved all the furniture which belonged to their mother, and this completely fills all five rooms, allowing no space to move about comfortably. The sisters, however, have indicated an interest in this home which they have not shown previously. This particular house is very suitable for them because they have privacy and need have no contact with neighbors.

The health of the family has again become a minor matter during the process of moving. Since the Misses Bauer are located in their new home, much of the nervous tension has disappeared. Miss Margaret is noticeably more contented, and it seems at this time that a satisfactory adjustment could be made in this home.

## NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITORS

#### MISS MARCUS ON PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

IN AN article in the Compass by Miss Grace Marcus, formerly of the New York C.O.S. and now a member of the A.A.S.W. headquarters' staff, entitled "What Is the Relationship of the Trained Social Worker to Social Work Education?" she tells us what she thinks "the role of the professional school" should be. Here is her theory: "The role of the school is to transmit all that is learned and tested in practice and to communicate the fund of knowledge, concepts and skills which practice has found to be essential to competent performance." She says that "it is not the job of a school of social work to determine how case work or group work should be done. That judgment must first be reached by those who are engaged in case work or group work, and the authority of the school rests on the established decisions of practice."

There are several important questions involved here. The school programs, of course, are closely related at all points to the work of the social agencies, both public and private. Education for social work and professional practice must go forward together; they are mutually interdependent-neither can be successful unless both are organized on the basis of high standards that are honestly respected. But many of the schools of social work now have a good staff of field-work supervisors who are engaged in social work while they are teaching the students of the school. Does Miss Marcus rule out valuable contributions made by these field-work teachers, many of whom have recently come from the staffs of important social agencies and who often have much more time to think through the work in which they are engaged for the schools than do the representatives of the agencies themselves? Another important point is that Miss Marcus apparently does not know that case-work and group-work "skills" are a small part of the science of social welfare and a very small part of what is taught in a good school of social work. Does Miss Marcus think "socialwork education" begins and ends with the teaching of case work?

Miss Marcus says that "it is the obligation of practicing social workers to improve the understanding and skills which it then becomes the function of the schools to communicate," and "it is practice, practice as it is represented by you and me and many others like us, that must find out and then say what should be taught." This rather sweeping mandate she

tries to support by drawing an analogy with the older professional schools. She apparently thinks that a professional organization (like the A.M.A.) has "outlined basic curricula and not the medical schools." But medical education is a very large subject that cannot be summarily disposed of. It involves the work of the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals, the Association of American Medical Colleges, and the Federation of State Medical Boards.

Miss Marcus thinks that, "as a profession develops, the professional schools have less and less to say about what should be taught," and then one wonders if Miss Marcus knows what the university clinics of the great medical schools have done and are doing for medicine? The schools of social work look forward to the same kind of clinical research; and while relatively small beginnings of such work are all we can boast of today, slowly, but surely, resources will sometime be forthcoming for the support of schools that have not been afraid to try to teach their students that they are not to be merely "technicians" with "skills" but scientific workers "with the love of knowledge and the use of the tools of learning." No, the good professional schools in the older professions are not chiefly concerned in teaching the practitioner's "skills." The good law schools. as was said long ago at Harvard, properly concern themselves not with the narrow technical skills and procedures that are used in practice, but rather with the science of the law. The art or "skills" of dealing properly with judges, juries, and clients may be an important condition of "practical success at the bar" but they are certainly not regarded as important in our better law schools.

Some books should be commended to Miss Marcus as dealing much more seriously with professional education than the recent Carr-Saunders' book which she quotes. These much better books are the studies of Medical Education, by Abraham Flexner, the Final Report of the Commission on Medical Education, and Education for the Public Profession of the Law, by Alfred Z. Reed.

The professional schools of social welfare see that their field of service lies not merely in meeting the immediate personnel needs of the social agencies but in devoting themselves to the larger task of developing and defining the profession itself. The history of the Harvard Law School shows that a somewhat parallel situation existed at one time in the early schools of law. We are told, for example, that in the early nineteenth century there occurred that famous day in the history of Harvard College when the generosity of Nathan Dane "turned the whole current of legal education in Harvard, New England, and the nation at large.

Dane conceived the idea of doing for Harvard what the Vinerian professorship held by Blackstone had done for Oxford. He offered to the incoming president, Josiah Quincy, \$10,000 to establish a professorship bearing his name." But it is important to note that Dane's original and primary purpose "was not so much the development of lawyers as of law. With the work of Blackstone and Kent in mind, he expressly stipulated that Story (the first holder of the Dane professorship) should be allowed time to publish as well as to teach," and this is believed to explain the long-established Harvard tradition that scholarly research is one of the main objects of her school of law.

A Lord Chief Justice of England is reported to have said of our American law schools that the system of education they provided was far superior to anything existing in England, and he explained this by saying: "Its superiority, I think, mainly consists in its systematic teaching of the historical and scientific aspects of law before the actual practical work-aday law is dealt with." The ideal of the accomplished lawyer was, said the Lord Chief Justice, one who could make a great advocate, a great judge, a great writer, or a great legislator, or all these. This is worth remembering when we are planning our own professional programs.

Miss Marcus thinks that "it is not within the province of the school to decide which theories and methods are sound and which are unsound. In none of these matters is a professional school a final arbiter." Does Miss Marcus really think the present members of the agencies are the final arbiters regarding important social plans and policies? Are the case workers in an agency always so objective about their own work that they are the final arbiters as to its value? Certainly the good case-work or field-work teacher in a school of social work frequently looks at the whole program with a breadth of vision and detachment that many agencies hold in high regard.

Miss Marcus has seen what she calls "huge developments in the public welfare field....hanging in the balance" in the last five years. But they were there long before that time—they hung in the balance year after year while the attempt to modify the old system of C.O.S. relief by mothers' pensions was a subject of discussion. The extension of public aid by the mothers' pension system was the unheralded revolution that the private agencies could not see.

Miss Marcus asks, "What, then, is left for the schools?" For she still thinks the schools should have a little groove which they may occupy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Alfred Z. Reed, Training for the Public Profession of the Law (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Bull. 15).

What is it? This is what she suggests: "An invaluable, indispensable, special function, that of finding out and saying authoritatively how social work should be taught. Ours is the educational what, theirs is the educational how."

The *Review* refrains from further comment, except to suggest that, if the theory of Miss Marcus is accepted, the professional schools will have fallen to a very low level.

### MICHIGAN REFERENDUM ON THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

HE Michigan law providing for a co-ordinated state department of public assistance, which was passed by the legislature in 1937, was defeated in the November referendum by a majority of some twenty thousand. Concretely, this means that the juvenile courts will continue to administer mothers' pensions paid for by local funds, while the Emergency Relief Administration will continue to administer the program of aid to dependent children not covered by the mothers' pension and aid to the blind. The Old Age Assistance Bureau remains in the Public Welfare Department. The real opposition was not to consolidating these services but to the creation of county welfare departments which would abolish township relief and several competing local agencies. As the law providing for the state department also provided for the appointment of some but not all members of the county welfare boards, the county reorganization cannot become effective until the state law does. The county commissioners' association responsible for the referendum was also responsible for the adverse vote.

The local chapter of the A.A.S.W. together with other liberal organizations made an uphill fight. Administrative problems are difficult to explain to the general public, and the cry of bureaucracy always brings a response. Moreover, in an exciting contest over the governorship it was extremely difficult to secure public interest in the referendum and discussion of its merits even though both candidates favored the law.

It will be recalled that the several reorganization laws were put through under Governor Murphy, but the commission which recommended them was appointed by his predecessor and successor-to-be, Governor Fitzgerald. The latter has declared since his election that he will propose as the first item of legislative business in January a state welfare bill providing for more rather than less control of the county program and its administration. It is to be hoped that the civil service law and other ad-

ministrative reforms introduced by Governor Murphy will also be continued and strengthened.

## THE SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD AND EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE

THE penalty for maladministration of old age assistance in Ohio fell on 112,000 aged when the Social Security Board decided that it could no longer, under the law, continue to authorize the payment of federal funds to the state. The Board's procedure in this case as in Oklahoma cannot be criticized. There was first a careful investigation and audit of the policies, practices, and record-keeping of the Ohio Division of Aid for the Aged. This investigation revealed such things as "repeated interference with orderly procedure by the governor," "wholesale violation of the Ohio civil service laws and rules," "serious and excessive delays in the handling of applications for assistance," "failure to adopt uniform policies and procedures," "blanket increases in awards....upon instructions from the governor," "discrimination in the handling of complaints," and inadequate reporting and recording.

The Board informed the Ohio Division of Aid for the Aged on August 19 that a hearing would be held on the finding of the Board's investigators on August 29. The Division asked postponement to September 6. This request was granted, but no representative of the state appeared at the hearing. A transcript of the testimony was then sent to the state agency together with notice that the Board would allow it a "further opportunity to present evidence and arguments" on the subject. This the state ignored, and on September 30 the Board announced discontinuance of grants and laid down twelve conditions to be met by the state before federal payments would be resumed. As checks are sent the aged in Ohio in the middle of the month, the Board pointed out these conditions could be met before payments were again due and volunteered the help of the Board's representatives if desired. Unquestionably before the point of formal findings and hearings was reached the representatives of the Board had done everything possible to secure improvement in administration without any success.

The action of the Board should have brought prompt compliance by the state, but nearly two months have passed without action. During the Ohio primaries reports reached the outside world that Governor Davey was using the old age assistance funds in a desperate campaign for reelection. His attempt failed, and he is now defiant of public opinion and indifferent to the needs of the aged. He continues as governor until January, 1939, and can continue the punishment of the aged for his political use of the old age assistance funds.

The Ohio case shows the difficulties the Bureau of Assistance of the Social Securing Board faces in meeting its responsibility under the law of enforcing adequate and honest administration of the federal funds granted to a state. Obviously grants can be withheld only when conditions are serious. The Board lacks authority to prevent the hardships which a governor determined to make old age assistance an instrument for accomplishing his personal ambitions inflicts on the aged and then tells the aged it is the fault of the Board. But in many states the administration is far from satisfactory, although there is no flagrant defiance of the law and deliberate departure from the plan submitted by the state and approved by the Board. The Board needs authority to require appointment of qualified personnel, and plans for administration should be made jointly by the state and the federal government, as they are for the child welfare services. The negative system of checks which the federal law now provides is quite inadequate.

#### INCREASING SOCIAL SECURITY

ONGRESS will assemble next month and will undoubtedly consider a number of important proposals for amending the Social Security Act. Popular demand requires amendment of the old age benefit Titles II and VIII of the Act. In order to build up a reserve for the aged in 1980, a very conservative policy as to when benefits would be paid and the amount of the benefits was written into the law. Newspaper reports indicate that the President and the Social Security Board now propose to meet this pressure by beginning the payment of benefits in 1040 instead of 1042, raising the minimum and decreasing the maximum annuities and providing benefits for the widows and young children of deceased workers included in the insurance scheme. Two large groups of workers are not included in the scheme-farm laborers and domestic servants. The Board has indicated its desire to include these groups but at the same time has emphasized the administrative difficulties of applying a compulsory contributory scheme to them and their employers. Collection of the taxes, extremely costly for industrial workers, would be very much greater for these groups. There is no difficulty and little opposition to including the employees of educational and social service institutions and agencies, and this amendment should be promptly adopted.

It is gratifying to note also that the social insecurity which the Act provides for dependent children has been noted by the Board. It is rec-

ommending that Title IV should be amended so as to remove the \$18 and \$12 maximum on which federal reimbursement has been made and provide for federal grants of one-half of the cost of the aid to dependent children. Misunderstanding was the basis of the existing discrimination against dependent children, but, once imbedded in law, admitted mistakes sometimes go uncorrected. Leadership by the administration and active support from the states should insure the adoption of these amendments at the coming session of Congress.

In the twenty-eight states and the District of Columbia in which unemployment benefits have been paid during the past year there have been great confusion and delay in the payment of benefits. Getting the administrative machinery in operation has been a tremendous task. The same was true of workmen's compensation. But there is overwhelming evidence of the need for simplifying procedures, and there should be no unnecessary delay in the adoption of amendments which will make some simplification possible. A conference of federal and state officials is at work on the problem and should have some practical proposals ready for Congress and state legislatures. Again, as in the case of workmen's compensation, we can expect amendments from year to year as theory is put to practical tests.

If a beginning is to be made in the ten-year medical-care program submitted by the Interdepartmental Committee on Health, Title V providing for grants-in-aid for maternal and child health and Title VI making available federal funds for promoting a general health program will have to be expanded and the appropriations very greatly increased. The widespread public approval for this program, together with the evidence of need presented by the Committee, should insure the prompt adoption of these amendments. Bills providing for health insurance will undoubtedly also be introduced. It will be recalled that the Interdepartmental Committee was much less specific on this subject than was the Economic Security Committee in its report in 1934. The adoption of a health-insurance scheme supported by pay-roll taxes is very doubtful at this time, but both the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. have indicated they will urge it in addition to supporting the grants-in-aid program.

There is no suggestion from Washington for an unemployment-assistance program. W.P.A. will undoubtedly be continued, although an effort will be made to modify it. But Washington will continue to leave to the uncertainties and inadequacies of local relief the unemployed who have not and cannot be cared for under this program. In this connection attention should be called to the farm-security program. Under this pro-

gram loans and resettlement are used to meet the special needs of the drought-stricken and tenant farmers. They are eligible for W.P.A. employment, but direct relief is also available. Nationally this program is under the Farm Security Administration while locally the county agents who know about the diseases of cattle and corn and wheat and the homedemonstration agents decide on the grants. There is now some evidence of appreciation of the need of case work with these destitute farm families and a few social workers may be added to the staff. The Farm Security Administration not only gives direct relief but in California it has built and maintains a transient camp for refugees from the dust bowl. While attempting to work out a program especially adapted to farmers through its loans and resettlement projects, it is realistic rather than theoretical in its provision for relief as W.P.A. has not been, and it has not feared its major program would be undermined if it temporarily fed and clothed the hungry. How long shall we wait for a similar realistic approach to the values and limitations of W.P.A.?

# PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS ON THE PROPOSED NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM

INTEREST in the national health program presented to the National Health Conference in Washington last July by the President's Interdepartmental Committee To Co-ordinate Health and Welfare Activities increases. To the press it is still news, and developments are being followed both by the daily press and by the weekly and monthly magazines. As a result, the general public is becoming aware of the implications of the recommendations of the Technical Committee on Medical Care and are demanding prompt congressional action. On November 8, the voters of New York State approved the public welfare amendment to the state constitution which gives to the state legislature unquestionable authority to provide care for the sick by health insurance or otherwise as well as the unemployed, the aged, and the physically handicapped.

During September and October three large professional associations gave consideration to the recommendations of the Technical Committee on Medical Care.

On September 16 and 17, 1938, the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association was called in special session in Chicago—the third such special session in its history—to consider and act on the recommendation of the committee. In view of its past opposition to such proposals, it may be said to have bowed to the opinion of the public that the present system of private, individual care does not meet their medical

needs. The addresses made on the first day, as reported in the Journal of the American Medical Association of September 24, 1038, did not forecast the surprisingly liberal action by four of the five special committees of reference appointed to consider the five recommendations of the Technical Committee. The reports of these reference committees, as finally adopted by the House of Delegates, indorsed in principle, though with certain reservations, four of the recommendations: expansion of general public health and maternal and child health, construction and temporary maintenance of hospitals, medical care for the medically needy, and insurance against loss of wages during sickness. The fourth committee recommendation, directed toward a general medical care program for selfsupporting groups as well as the medically needy, was not indorsed, though approval was given to "the principle of hospital service insurance" and "the soundness of the principles of workmen's compensation laws" was recognized. The use of health insurance as a device to provide medical care for these self-supporting groups was condemned as "a complicated bureaucratic system that has no place in a democratic State." No reference was made in the report of the reference committee to the Technical Committee's alternate proposal, namely, public medical care supported by tax funds that might be as generally available to the public as is public education. Whatever the reason for this omission, the House of Delegates has at least left the way open for future approval of the use of public medical care to provide for the self-supporting members of the population as well as the medically needy. The broadening of this type of service, making it available to all who desire it on the ground that all citizens should have a right to a service supported by taxes, would have very great advantages. No other type of service or combination of types of service, not even a health insurance scheme in which the contributions for the medically needy were paid by government, would eliminate the means test nor meet equally the rural as well as urban needs. Though the American Medical Association has at last shown a much-to-be-desired willingness to co-operate with the government in expansion of public health and in providing care for those unable to obtain it from their own resources, the lack of any constructive program to aid self-supporting families to budget the costs of medical care except through voluntary participation in a medical service through an indemnity insurance scheme, which would presumably be handled by commercial insurance companies on a profit basis, must limit the enthusiasm with which their action is viewed. For, after all, more than half of all families in the population have incomes between \$750 and \$2,000, according to the recent report on Consumer Incomes of the National Resources Committee. The selection of \$800 by the Technical Committee as the income level above which families can presumably provide medical care for their own resources

## THE DOCTOR HEARS RUMBLINGS



Fitspatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

may be seriously challenged in view of the report on costs of living, as of March, 1935, based on data prepared by the Works Progress Administration and priced by the Bureau of Labor Standards of the United States Department of Labor. This report sets up a "maintenance" budget of "normal or minimum requirements" for wage-earners at \$1,261 per annum and an "emergency" budget which, the report points out, "may contain health hazards if followed for any considerable period of time,"

at \$903. We are glad, therefore, to see that the basis for calculation by the Technical Committee of the number of women in need of public medical care for maternity was a family income of \$1,000—a low-enough figure at that.

A more liberal indorsement of the recommendations of the Technical Committee was made by the American Public Health Association at its annual meeting in Kansas City, October 25–28. Two sessions were devoted to a presentation of the National Health Program, and, before adjourning, the association adopted a resolution that broadly indorsed the recommendations relating to expansion of public health, maternal and child health, hospital construction and maintenance, and compensation against loss of wages incurred through sickness. While not indorsing either health insurance or a general public medical care program specifically, the association by implication includes consideration of the broader program, by stating in its resolution, "In connection with the Technical Committee's recommendation concerning medical care, the Association supports the view that in the initiation and development of the program, wide latitude should be given to the States in the definition of the population to be served and the method of providing medical service."

Finally, the American Hospital Association, at its annual meeting in Dallas in October, adopted resolutions concerned primarily with the second and third recommendations of the Technical Committee and expressed its approval of the interest of the federal government in the question of hospitalization. In connection with the construction of new hospitals, the association wisely points out that "new hospitals should be built in the rural and urban areas only after accurate, impartial surveys of population grouping, accessibility of existing hospital facilities, transportation, and availability of professional personnel and economic resources show that new institutions are needed and that they could be maintained according to good professional and financial standards."

As was to be expected, the Hospital Association took the position that, before new public hospitals are constructed, the government should make full use of existing nonprofit private hospitals in any given community that has no public hospital. Warning should be given, however, against allowing this procedure to become the fixed pattern for expenditure of public funds for hospital care. Once such a plan is adopted, it might well tend to foster an increase in the number of small, poorly equipped and poorly staffed so-called nonprofit hospitals. Public hospitals are greatly needed in many communities, and experience has shown that standards of care may be as high as that of the best if the public demands it. If non-

profit hospitals are to be used by the government, it must establish standards of care, equipment, professional qualifications, and cost accounting applicable to all such institutions. This, in itself, would rule out many that should not be used. In many cases the government should take over the institutions entirely. There are, of course, a certain number of large nonprofit private hospitals, usually connected with medical schools, in which the best medical and hospital service in the country is found, and to which the government may well send some patients requiring highly specialized care when public facilities of equally good quality are not available. In the early development of a public medical care program it will be necessary to use existing nonprofit private hospitals if they meet standards; it should, however, never use proprietary hospitals except in an emergency.

How much of the National Health Program will be approved by the next Congress cannot be foreseen. The Technical Committee was of the opinion that Recommendations I and II—those that dealt with expansion of public health and maternal and child health services and with construction and maintenance of hospitals-should be given special emphasis and priority in any consideration of a national health program more limited in scope than that which was outlined in the entire series of recommendations. Such a categorical approach has certain great advantages. It would permit gradual development of sound administrative procedures in all aspects of the program, except the techniques of health insurance, since it proposes a general medical care program for children, and development of the major categories of maternity care, tuberculosis, venereal disease, pneumonia, cancer, malaria, mental hygiene, and industrial hygiene. To expand from such a beginning into a general medical care program would be largely a matter of quantity of service in line with patterns of administrative procedure already developed.

#### CIVIL SERVICE AND THE CASE OF DOROTHY KAHN

DOROTHY KAHN'S dismissal as director of public assistance in Philadelphia occurred after the September issue of the *Review* was in press, so that editorial comment is now in the nature of a post-mortem. That it was accomplished under a newly setup civil service has been particularly discouraging, and this aspect should not be forgotten.

It will be recalled that after the passage of the Pennsylvania Assistance Law in 1937, relief and aid to dependent children, old age and blind assistance became a state system supported by the state and administered by local boards of public assistance under the control of the State Board.

For the first time in Pennsylvania the state and local staff was required by law to qualify under open, competitive written and oral examinations. Dorothy Kahn had been relief administrator in Philadelphia for some six years. She took the examinations and on the showing made in the examination was appointed director of public assistance in Philadelphia, but was dismissed a few days before the expiration of the six months' probationary period. The requirement in the Pennsylvania law that an appointee must serve a six months' probationary period before acquiring permanent civil service status is found in the federal Civil Service Law and many state laws.

That the privilege of dismissal during the probationary period can be abused Miss Kahn's dismissal shows. A probationary period for one who had held for years an equivalent position in Philadelphia obviously served no purpose except the possibility of defeat of civil service principles on a legal technicality. The provision of a probationary period has its uses when an employee is appointed to a new position, although less than is generally supposed. An administrator usually finds six months too short a time to determine the qualifications of any except the obvious misfits. Such appointments ought to be avoided by the examination and by giving the administrator an opportunity to select from the three highest on the list, and by permitting the commission on a showing of good and sufficient reasons, discovered subsequent to the examination, not to certify an individual who has qualified by examination.

Because Miss Kahn has been president of the A.A.S.W. and has a national acquaintance, the protests against the action of the Philadelphia Assistance Board were nation-wide. While they failed in their immediate purpose, they will not be without effect. Hers is no isolated case. All too frequently state and city administrators are removed as well as appointed in defiance of the merit principle. The security which civil service should give the competent employee is in the interests of the public services. The personal losses of the victims are regretted, but the injuries done to the public services, it should be remembered, are more important and far-reaching. The abuse of discretion by the Philadelphia Board will make more difficult the very real problem of getting rid of incompetent civil service employees. There will be less public confidence in a reasonable system for removal because it will be assumed that administrative agencies will not be objective in their recommendations. Security for incompetence brings the civil service into disrepute because the level of performance is not what it should be and because it gives security to individuals regardless of their usefulness. Security that makes for high performance in the public services is an objective that must not be abandoned.

### GRAHAM TAYLOR 1851–1938

RAHAM TAYLOR was one of the last survivors of Chicago's distinguished group of social reformers who were pioneers in the settlement movement and in various other plans for social welfare. Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, Florence Kelley, and Anna Nichols were his comrades-in-arms in the early days when the settlements directed liberal thinking in new and hopeful directions. But the women in the group were handicapped because they worked for so many years as women without votes. Graham Taylor always knew the political friends and foes of good government. He fought many a valiant battle to elect a good alderman, a reform president of the Board of County Commissioners, a better mayor, an honest governor. His active, vigorous life is reflected in the widely read Saturday-evening column which he wrote for more than a third of a century for the editorial page of the Chicago Daily News, for many years Chicago's best newspaper. He was not only a supporter of honest politics and good government, but he had an astonishing number of subjects, both national and international, that he discussed, a fresh and stimulating interest in public affairs, and a delightful candor. He is said to have written no less than eighteen hundred of these weekly columns! He was a minister, a teacher, a "pioneer on the social frontier." He was president of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy from 1907 to 1920, when the School became part of the University, and a large group of the younger social workers of this period remember him as a vigorous teacher and a very cherished friend. He was one of Chicago's great citizens, an active member of such organizations as the Legislative Voters' League and the City Club when both were at the peak of their influence. He was always interested in new plans, new hopes, new visions of a better world. He was given a long, active, and successful life, which he devoted generously to the welfare of the great city which he loved so disinterestedly and served so generously.

## THE POOR LAWS BEFORE THE COURTS, 1938

SOME of the recent judicial decisions from the higher courts of the states are of special interest to social workers. One of these, Kotch v. Middle Coal Field Poor District et al. and Seven Other Cases, upholds

<sup>1 197</sup> Atlantic 334 (1938).

the legislation creating the new Public Assistance Department of the state of Pennsylvania—legislation which abolished

more than 425 Poor Boards, 67 County Mother's Assistance Boards, and the State Emergency Relief Board with its subsidiary boards in all parts of the state. In place of this patchwork of nearly 500 agencies whose related functions and responsibilities inevitably resulted in overlapping of jurisdiction, duplication of effort, conflict of parties, and multiplication of costs, this legislation substitutes a uniform and progressive plan. In consolidating all relief and assistance agencies, it eliminates 400 taxing units of government and reduces the assistance organizations in each county to no more than 2, and separates home assistance (Act No. 399) from institutional assistance (Act No. 396) and subjects the former to supervision by the State Department of Assistance and the latter to that of the State Department of Welfare.

The court points out that the new legislation removed the last reason for the continued existence of the Poor Board system, and is "the culmination of an evolution that has been taking place for nearly a century and a half."

Eight separate actions involving the constitutionality of the act were filed by different "poor districts." It is not necessary to review here the various arguments advanced as to the unconstitutionality of the act. Fortunately, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court held that the act was valid and constitutional.

In spite of the enactment of new Public Assistance laws in some states, the higher courts are still handing down opinions dealing with the old poor law provisions inherited from the seventeenth century. These decisions are interesting to social workers who are concerned with the public welfare program. In South Dakota one case, Sioux Falls Paint & Glass Co. v. Knudtson, County Auditor,<sup>2</sup> dealt with a W.P.A. agreement with Minnehaha County, to establish a project for which the county would pay 8 per cent of the cost. When the county auditor refused to pay the county's share of the W.P.A. costs, out of the poor fund, mandamus proceedings were instituted by a company furnishing materials for the project to compel countersigning and delivery of warrants for the payment of the claim.

But the state Supreme Court held that the poor fund could not be used for the W.P.A. program. The court said that support and relief under the poor law must be "direct in character" and

primarily for the benefit of those unfortunate persons having a lawful settlement in the county who, through incapacity or circumstances over which they

<sup>2 281</sup> North Western 201 (1938).

have no control, have lost the ability to help themselves. It includes, among other things, maintenance or allowance for necessities, hospitalization, medical care and treatment, education, visitation, and supervision. Much latitude is permitted, but the power is not unlimited. In ascribing intent to the Legislature, the fact that it placed limitations upon the power of the county to raise revenue cannot be overlooked.

Nothing in the poor law, said the court, allowed the county to "engage in activities directed to the promotion of other welfare programs," or to "solicit or bargain for outside assistance to the poor."

An opinion handed down by the Supreme Judicial Court of Maine, Inhabitants of Town of Turner v. City of Lewiston, is another illustration of the way in which the old pauper laws continue. In this case a town in Maine attempted to obtain reimbursement for "extra expense" on account of "school conveyance" for the children of the family of a World War veteran, who "had his pauper settlement in the City of Lewiston, but actually resided in the Town of Turner." The family had been recieving what are called "pauper supplies" from the town of Turner, and the town had then been reimbursed by the city of Lewiston. The town of Turner was conveying the children in this family to school without compensation and continued so to do until a so-called reimbursement statute was enacted in 1935. This is a very interesting method of prolonging the old pauper-law methods. The important provision follows:

Any city, town or plantation that has paupers, who reside in another city, town or plantation, who have children attending the public schools shall locate such paupers so that the city, town or plantation where they reside shall not be put to extra expense, for conveyance of children to primary or secondary schools; provided, however, that if the said city, town or plantation does not so locate said paupers, the said city, town, or plantation shall reimburse the city, town or plantation wherein the said paupers reside for the extra expense so caused.

The court pointed out that the city did not "locate" the paupers as was its duty under the statute, and consequently the town was put to "extra expense." It was admitted that "the conveyance was necessary and that the charges made therefor were reasonable."

Of course, most enlightened communities now provide not only free schools but free textbooks and free school "bus service" and whatever else may be necessary to enable the children to go to school as they should. But the Maine statute makes school conveyance a "pauper supply" and still provides for an antiquated kind of "pauper regulation"

<sup>3 198</sup> Atlantic 734 (1938)

regarding its children. On the whole, this is the kind of judicial decision that makes the whole poor law administration in a state like Maine

seem to belong to what ought to be a dead and buried past.

The power of local officials to bind the political administrative unit—the town or county—and questions of possible official dishonesty on the part of local poor law officials are dealt with by the Supreme Court of Illinois in a case (First Trust and Savings Bank of Kankakee v. Town of Ganeer)<sup>4</sup> involving a supervisor who tried to lay on the poor funds an obligation to pay considerable amounts, when the claims had never been approved and audited. The town is protected against the fraudulent action of the supervisor, but the risk of administration by small independent local units is made clear.

In a recent Montana case<sup>5</sup> the Supreme Court discussed a proceeding in mandamus to compel the state administrator of public welfare to make a grant-in-aid to Silver Bow County of \$28,000 for general relief for a month, ending August 10, 1938. This case involves an interesting controversy between local and state governments over the method of providing grants-in-aid. The court held that, when the county was not able to pay applicants for relief, the state board of public welfare must satisfy itself with reasonable promptness "as to the number of applicants entitled to relief and the amount to which they are entitled and, where all conditions named in the statute have been met by the county, to make a grant-in-aid from available funds." However, the grant from the state to the county was required only when it had been demonstrated to the Board of Public Welfare that the county could no longer raise the necessary funds to provide general relief.

The *Review* has submitted evidence from time to time in support of the demand for the abolition of the old "pauper laws." A careful study of recent supreme court opinions shows that some light is breaking through the darkness, but progress is made very slowly.

#### A NEW CHILD LABOR LAW IN GERMANY

AFTER three previous attempts to fix national child labor standards in the United States, all of which were held unconstitutional, a fourth attempt has been made by Congress in the Fair Labor Standards Act, which establishes a sixteen-year age minimum for children employed

<sup>4 16</sup> North Eastern (2d) 805 (1938).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> State ex rel. Silver Bow County et al. v. Brandjord, State Administrator of Public Welfare, et al., 82 Pacific (2d) 589 (1938).

in industries engaged in interstate commerce. In contrast, Germany had national legislation on child labor as early as 1903. The regulations made at that time and since have been included in the new child labor law of April 30, 1938, which becomes effective January 1, 1939. The new German statute on "Child Labor and Working Hours for Juveniles" is divided into two parts, the first dealing with restrictions on the employment of children under fourteen years of age and the second regulating the working hours of young persons between fourteen and eighteen years of age. Under the new statute the employment of children under fourteen years of age is prohibited in industry, the trades, and as apprentices, but not in agriculture and domestic service. As about 72 per cent of all child workers in Germany are employed in agriculture and domestic service, the new statute does not cover the occupations in which the child labor problem is most serious.

While the law of 1938 permits children to help in household and family work, it prohibits employment of children under fourteen in factories, trade, workshops, and business, whether the employer is a relative of the child or not. Exemptions to this general rule are permitted. The factory inspector is entitled to issue a "child labor license" to children older than ten years of age, the details of the license being regulated by official decree. In accordance with the child labor law of 1903 the new statute prohibits licensing children under fourteen for dangerous work, such as labor in an industry using gas or steam machines, and requires special permits for their employment in public theater and music performances and in motion pictures. The daily working hours of children of school age are limited to four hours, and during school periods to two hours between 8:00 A.M. and 7:00 P.M.

The larger part of the new statute deals with the working hours of young persons fourteen to eighteen years old, formerly regulated in the National Trade Code of 1869 and several other subsequently enacted laws. As previously, the regular working hours of young persons remain eight hours daily and forty-eight hours weekly. But this maximum limit of forty-eight hours may be increased to fifty-four hours weekly, and the daily working hours increased to eight and a half or nine when the work ends at 2:00 P.M. on Saturday, which is the custom in German manufacturing industries. The time spent in attendance at a vocational or continuation school is included in the working hours and is to be paid for by the employer. With the consent of the factory inspector, working hours for young persons over sixteen may be increased further to ten hours daily, fifty-four hours weekly, in the interest of production.

The leisure time required between two working days is twelve hours, except in hotel and restaurant services and in the bakery industry where ten hours for young persons sixteen years of age is required.

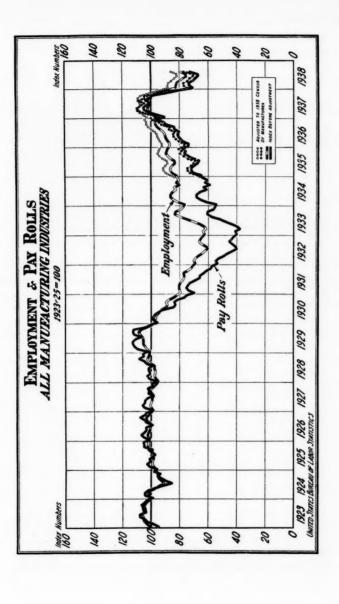
The new statute continues the former provision that night work and work on Sundays and holidays is prohibited for children and young per-

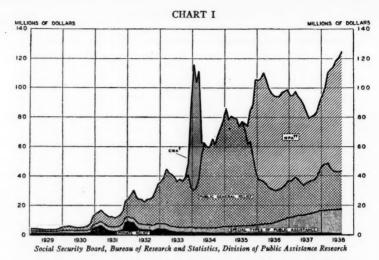
sons, but exemptions from this rule are also possible.

Young persons after having been at work for at least three months without intermission are entitled to a vacation with pay, unless they have already had such a vacation in the same year, or leave work or apprenticeship before the period of employment or training has been completed, or else were dismissed for cause. This vacation must be granted in one period, if possible, and usually during the vacation time of the vocational schools and during the camp and outing period of the Hitler Youth. The minimum period of vacation for persons fourteen to sixteen years of age is fifteen working days, and that for young people sixteen to eighteen years of age, twelve working days. But the vacation period is increased to eighteen working days for both groups in case the juvenile pledges to spend ten days or more in a camp or outing of the Hitler Youth.

It is to be regretted that the fifteen-year minimum adopted by the International Labor Conference in 1937 was not made the minimum age of employment; that so many exemptions are possible for children under fourteen; and that the statute does not cover the overwhelming number of children employed in farm labor and domestic service. Another obvious disadvantage for the protection of children and young persons is that a basis for the co-operation formerly developed between the factory inspection and the local child welfare bureau and the school authorities has not been provided. The last two agencies are frequently the only ones who know of child labor and the exploitation of young persons in Germany and its effects on children.

WALTER FRIEDLANDER

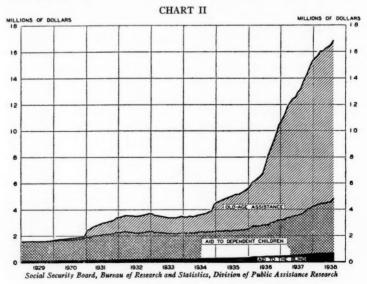




RELIEF IN 116 URBAN AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES, JANUARY, 1929-AUGUST, 1938

† Earnings under Civil Works Administration of all persons employed under the program including the administrative staff.

‡ Earnings under Works Progress Administration of persons employed on projects within the areas and certified as in need of relief.



SPECIAL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN 116 URBAN AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES, JANUARY, 1929—AUGUST, 1938

## **BOOK REVIEWS**

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Re-thinking Social Case Work. By BERTHA C. REYNOLDS. New York: Social Work Today, 1938. Pp. 32. \$0.25.

This reprint of a series of articles which appeared in the April, May, and June, 1938, issues of *Social Work Today* is well worth more than one reading. Among the various articles which have sought to clarify confusion in these troubled times through focusing on changing trends, this presentation is outstanding.

The author chooses the year 1916 as a point from which to gain historical perspective and views with penetrating insight the field of social case work in relation to the times throughout the intervening years into the turbulent present. She emphasizes that we need to see case work in perspective and "with a sense that it is as much a part of the social scene in which it appears as are other phenomena—the homes of people, their industries, schools, and churches, their favorite sports and songs." Accordingly, she depicts social case work changing with the times as an integral part of its milieu, the social order. The latter emerges from her graphic pen not as a flat social scheme, but as a composite of living people and vital forces in which social actualities and psychological realities interplay to produce significant trends, the understanding of which is essential in sound leadership. In one portion, entitled "A Sick Society: Can It Be Understood?" Miss Reynolds states:

In all this turmoil it is necessary to realize that we are dealing with a sick society—sick with economic prostration. We have seen how fundamental to progress in social case work has been the application of the beginnings of a science of personality. Is there no such science of society which can give some direction to the struggle for democracy? . . . . Case work has found roots in the scientific study of individual behavior. It needs more roots wherever it can put them down in the study of the ways in which societies behave.

The author then comments that the fate of social case work hangs upon the fate of democracy and that human beings cannot forever be coerced in thinking, feeling, and action, and she predicts that, in the end, human nature will follow its own deepest needs.

For some individuals the provocative thought that the future of society—and, incidentally, of social case work—rests upon the human race as it gropes its way in the fulfilment of its deepest needs will produce anxiety with resultant protests. Many may well question whether the present turmoil has not come about in considerable measure through the expression of man's deepest needs overtly enacted in a relatively primitive form without benefit of inward restraint or sublimation. It would seem that more widespread direct enactment of these

needs might well bring destruction. If one accepts Miss Reynold's thinking, one is driven also to the painful realization that a more socialized order evolving through the expression of man's deepest needs will come very slowly, for only as human needs change through change in basic feelings can one hope for fulfilment of the democratic ideals. We would like to believe that something more direct might be promptly done to utilize constructively the deeper needs of people in these relatively unsublimated times.

One wonders whether certain social measures and trends might not be consciously utilized or fortified by those in leadership with the purpose of enabling deeper needs to be reconciled or sublimated. It would seem that only as social forces combine to enable man to resolve constructively that ever existent basic conflict between his instinctual urges and group demands have we ever worked toward the democratic ideal or can we at present do so. Miss Reynolds glimpses some of these consciously and unconsciously utilized measures and trends within the field of social case work in chapter iv, which is entitled "Social Case Work and the Struggle for Democracy in Society," and herein also she makes a plea for "a science of society which can give some direction to the struggle for democracy." It is only in her closing comments that she perhaps falls back a bit on the millennium-in this instance, the evolution of human personality—as the solution. These thoughtful papers are written with the author's usual clarity and simple strength. They will be welcomed by instructors in the social-work field as a vital contribution for which we are again indebted to this author.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Alcohol One Man's Meat. By Edward A. Strecker, M.D., and Francis T. Chambers, Jr. New York: Macmillan Co., 1938. Pp. xvi+230. \$2.50.

The subject of alcoholism has been and is being studied from various standpoints. The authors of this volume have worked jointly to give an account of their concepts of alcoholism and the therapy of "the alcoholic." Dr. Strecker introduces the subject with a brief statement consisting of historical background, statistics showing increased incidence, and a plea for constructive therapy.

"The alcoholic" to the authors is one who is emotionally immature, introverted, and psychoneurotic. He cannot face reality without alcohol, and an adjustment is impossible without it. Abnormal drinking is looked upon as a symptom of underlying personality disorder. Individuals drinking in an abnormal manner who do so secondarily to psychosis, character defects, or mental deficiency are not termed "alcoholics." The authors' patients came to them of their own accord eventually due to the fact that they had at last admitted to themselves that a problem was present.

The section on therapy deftly portrays the method used. At the beginning

the patient is told that it is possible for him to live a nonalcoholic life, that he must abstain, and that alcohol for him is a poison. An investigation with the patient of his habits of acting and reacting, his immature emotional life, his tendency to rationalize, and his personality functioning in general is made during approximately one hundred interview hours. Throughout the treatment the patient is made to carry much responsibility and is treated as a mature individual. Various adjuncts such as outside reading and relaxing exercises are used. His physical state receives attention.

No attempt is made to give a statistical account of cases treated, but one is impressed that, for the authors, there has been success in the application of this method to the emotionally immature, introverted, neurotic, "alcoholic" individual. There is a tendency to be pessimistic about success of therapy in all types of alcoholism. To one who is, this book will seem overoptimistic. However, this work has definite value and will be a much-needed aid to many psychiatrists, social workers, and others dealing with the problem of alcoholism.

FRANKLIN G. EBAUGH, M.D.

University of Colorado

William Alanson White: The Autobiography of a Purpose. By WILLIAM A. WHITE, M.D. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1938. Pp. xix+293. \$3.00.

A clinical case record is a selective biography emanating from a liability and designed to give an understanding of that liability and opportunities for and attempts at doing something about it. Such a record is always a double reflection. In addition to describing the development of the human being, it depicts the times and the conditions in which this development occurs, and in case after case the chief value of the effort has been to change the conditions rather than to help the individual patient. Dr. White's life-activities always were full of instances of this later public health motive. It is not surprising that, with such a depth of feeling as to what is important to people, and beginning with assets in his own life instead of liabilities, he should turn his own biography into such an intriguing portraval of a critical period of medicine, of psychiatry, and of American culture. This story of himself is never strained to emphasize its subject. It is abundantly seasoned with anecdotes, but these are never without point and flow so easily that the relationship of the conditions under which he developed and his development are presented in an easy and captivating way. By simple description he gives the reader a feel for the essential humanity of the psychiatric patient and the identity of our ways and those of the mentally ill. To quote:

I learned also that many of these people, as crazy as they were, to use the ordinary lay term, were nevertheless fine characters, in many instances far more reliable than the average person one meets outside. I have always felt that some of the best friends I have ever had were among patients in institutions for mental diseases, and not only the

best friends, but some of the friends for whom I had the greatest respect. I make this comment, not because I think it remarkable or because it will be news to any of those reading these pages who have worked in institutions of this character, but because I know from long experience how incomprehensible such a statement is to the average person.

Throughout the story, one also gets an appreciation of the philosophy and problems of a successful hospital administrator. Dr. White sees the mental hospital not as a beginning and end in itself, a place for those who are too sick to stay in their communities, but as just one of the instruments for meeting the needs of mentally burdened people and as having a responsibility for the needs of people who may never come within its walls. The isolation and sequestration of the hospital is one of the important interferences with the achievement of this value in most instances. Dr. White comments:

I have always felt that the location of a great hospital for mental disease, in places remote from centers of population with varied medical activity and scientific societies, is unfortunate. These institutions need to be accessible to such sources of stimulation in order to attract adequate staffs who will give the patients the best of medical attention and will be willing in many instances to devote their lives to institutional work.

GEORGE S. STEVENSON, M.D.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE

Refugees: Anarchy or Organization? By Dorothy Thompson. New York: Random House, 1938. Pp. xiv+125. \$1.00.

This is a useful and timely book, not because it presents a practicable solution of one of the most difficult problems faced by the democratic nations of the Western world, but because it presents, in conveniently brief form, a competent review of the recent background of the refugee problem. Here, for example, is a good account of the post-war work for refugees under the League of Nations Committee to which the great Nansen gave such able and disinterested service, and for which Albert Thomas, late director of the I.L.O., worked so vigorously. Miss Thompson is probably right in thinking that lack of funds and co-operation thwarted the large-scale plans of settlement advocated by these two "men of imagination." But in spite of the difficulties under which the League of Nations Committee labored, it rendered invaluable service and was responsible for "such improvements in the position of refugees as have been apparent in the last seventeen years." The League certainly gave the leadership to the successful settlement of Greeks and Bulgarians.

What Miss Thompson calls "defeatism" in regard to the treatment of refugees was greatly influenced, after 1928, by the effect of the depression and the problem of the unemployed, and she thinks that this "hardened the hearts of people all over the world toward refugees. . . . . At times, in some countries, fifty per cent of all refugees were unemployed. And in countries where state-

supported relief activities existed there were, and still are, strong movements to have all persons not yet citizens removed from the relief rolls."

There is a very useful chapter on the Jewish refugees and a discussion of socalled Aryan laws. Miss Thompson correctly notes that "as anti-Semitic policies spread through Europe it becomes clearer and clearer that charity is not enough. It cannot be too often emphasized that the problem must be regarded and treated as one of international politics."

"Free immigration," once staunchly supported by many social workers when the question of the arbitrary limitation of immigration by means of quota laws was still a matter for debate and not a settled governmental policy, is again discussed in this book. The question whether or not the countries of immigration are "overpopulated" and should now be closed to new immigrants is discussed here with reference to Canada and Brazil. But for the United States this is no longer a debatable question as far as formulating a practical policy is concerned. The quota laws now on the statute-books will remain there for many years to come, and any discussion of their repeal is now purely academic and not a question of practical politics.

But Miss Thompson presents a picture of the "new frontier" and the importance of careful planning in order to get safely there the persons who must be emigrated. The frontier of the twentieth century, she points out, is not what it was in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The frontier has changed as much as the pioneer. Most of the frontier areas today, in order to be able to compete with the rest of the world, depend on large scale technological advance rather than on old-fashioned individual pioneering.

If colonization is to be successful, expert planning in advance is required, and a considerable outlay of capital. All the settlements which failed during the last twenty years—failed for lack of planning, or for lack of funds or for lack of both. . . . . Almost all potential immigration countries are on a lower technological level than the one which the settler has been used to. Naturally, the immigrant has the desire to attain as quickly as possible the degree of civilization he has been accustomed to at home. But it does not follow from this that the immigrant is too soft, or that he is unfit for pioneering work. On the contrary, the settler's demand for the advantages of civilization will actually prove to be his greatest asset to the country where he settles [pp. 87–89].

Miss Thompson suggests that if any one example could "confound the defeatist attitude" it would be the work of the Eastern Jews in Palestine. "Crushed and humiliated for generations, they seemed the worst possible material for pioneering"; but she thinks that in a very few years "they have demonstrated their capacity to re-train themselves—more, even to change their physical type."

But what of the problem of the Jewish refugees today? Miss Thompson thinks that the old Nansen Committee, now merged with the High Commission for Refugees Coming from Germany, will continue to concern itself with the legal and political destinies of exiles, but she thinks that this will probably be the limit of its action.

It will give no advice or help to prospective refugees—those who are still in the countries of their nativity but who are forced to contemplate emigration within the immediate future. Nor can we expect the Nansen Committee to help these people to find a place to go nor to arrange ways through which they will find work, nor to establish means by which they will become financial assets to their new homes, nor to stabilize existences which are utterly precarious.

Distinguishing between two categories of refugees—(1) the intellectuals who bring special resources as a contribution to their new home and those who have relatives or money or some means of independence and (2) the vast majority—those who not only have no means or connections abroad and who are completely without resources and cannot choose their new home—Miss Thompson thinks the problem with regard to the first group is not too difficult but the warning is clear:

As far as our own country is concerned, it is necessary to distribute these individuals [the intellectual refugees] as widely as possible throughout the continent. Nothing will be in the long run more dangerous for the refugees themselves than to increase the white collar proletariat, and evoke fear among those whose struggle for survival is already desperate, thus transplanting the resentments from which they are in flight.

It is pointed out that we have here an organizational task of great scope, and that the philanthropic organizations which are now trying to do this have neither sufficient means nor a personnel trained for the purpose of adapting the abilities of the immigrants to the needs of the new country. "This task must be put into the hands of leading personalities in science and industry, who will seek out really competent subpersonnel. It cannot be done by amateurs."

With regard to the second category, this is said to constitute a problem which can be solved only by mass settlement, and that can only be successful if it is exceedingly well planned and well financed. Whether the intergovernmental committee which reassembled in London last August after the Evian conference in July will be able to find a method of solving the urgent problem remains still in doubt. Great need of funds is emphasized, and Miss Thompson correctly says "charity is not enough." But she is not without hope and thinks that it must not be assumed that the German and other governments which have blocked the transfer of moneys cannot be brought into any sort of co-operation.

She refers to the Haavara—the trade-and-transfer arrangement with the Nazi government by which eighty-two million marks' worth of capital values have been transferred to Palestine in the last five years in the form of German export goods. "In this case, the co-operation consisted in the Nazi Government consenting to being paid for its export goods in blocked marks instead of in much-coveted foreign exchange, and in the Palestine importers giving up any idea of boycotting German goods." That is, fourteen thousand refugee families were enabled to settle in Palestine and take out their own savings in the form of goods. Miss Thompson admits that this interferes with any plan of boycotting German goods, but she is not in favor of a boycott if it operates against

those in need of help. Supporting further the plan of transferring blocked funds in the form of industrial products and capital goods if not in money, she emphasizes the fact that

capital goods are better than nothing in any case, and are everything in undeveloped countries whose technological future lies ahead of them. They are exactly what are needed for mass settlements in countries such as those of South America. And new mass settlements, on a decent standard of civilization, will create new markets for the whole world!

To make the plan concrete, she suggests a group of fifty thousand refugees who might form one or several communities. They may not have adequate savings to finance their emigration except in part. Assume that thirty million dollars is needed to emigrate and settle the fifty thousand. She suggests that the emigrants might have twenty million in capital goods, in the form of raw materials and industrial products, and ten million given as a cash loan by the immigration country. But is this feasible? Is Germany willing? How much has the refugee group? Is Miss Thompson correct in assuming that the recent extension in Germany of the anti-Jewish regulations has "carried its own boomerang"? It is true that "a great number of people starving in the midst of any community is neither economically nor politically attractive." But does Nazidom listen to reason? Miss Thompson thinks that if the Nazi governments refuse "to co-operate in a reasonable solution," the world will have to draw "the grimmest conclusions." But will this move the Nazis?

For those interested in the refugee problem this is a very useful book. There is a good small Bibliography with a convenient list of League of Nations documents.

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A Social Study of Pittsburgh: Community Problems and Social Services of Allegheny County. By PHILIP KLEIN and Collaborators. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. xxvi+958. \$4.75.

The social survey as a method of research and a foundation for social action has steadily lost ground in recent years. The rise of the quantitative statistical school of thinkers with their emphasis upon research directed toward the answer of limited problems sharply defined has more or less eclipsed the older group who emphasized the essential unity of the whole social problem. The decline of the social survey type of research was further accentuated by two more limitations: first, the great cost involved in broad surveys of an entire community; and, second, the lack of research personnel capable of analyzing the results of such surveys in an adequate way.

It seems likely that the Pittsburgh survey of 1934-36 may mark the end of this long decline and may re-establish the survey as a tool of social research.

Certainly this particular survey conducted by Philip Klein and his collaborators sets a new high standard for professional accomplishments in this field.

The effectiveness of the study, still speaking strictly from a professional research point of view, was due in no small measure to the soundness of the organization which was established in the very beginning. The emphasis upon the "judgment of expert personnel," the attempt "to achieve an integrated picture," the freedom of the staff from "any form of censorship or veto by the sponsoring committee," and the presentation of the report of the professional staff as a document separate from the reports and recommendations of the sponsoring committee—all these testify to the basic soundness of the research method employed. Given competent research leadership, the excellence of the results followed as a matter of course.

In still another sense this study constitutes a landmark in social research. If we hark back to the famous original Pittsburgh survey of 1908, we find that professional economists attempting to analyze a labor situation found it necessary to include a survey of the social aspects of the problem in order to arrive at satisfactory conclusions. It was at that time a little surprising to the public to learn that the labor problem had such an important social side. This second Pittsburgh survey is significant in that it began at the other end, namely, with an analysis of the social agencies. Yet, in order to treat this social problem adequately it was found necessary to analyze in some detail the industrial and labor situation in which the social agencies were functioning. For social work this is especially important, since it emphasizes once more the essential oneness of the labor problem and the social problem. It shows also how futile it is to deal with social agencies on a strictly community-organization basis.

It is true that Mr. Klein and his collaborators entered upon the analysis of the social and economic background of the Allegheny County community in order to determine the needs which the social and health services were established to serve. In this analysis it is amply demonstrated that the volume of unemployment, the status of labor organization, and the physical conditions of life in the community supply evidences of need far beyond the capacity of existing social services to supply. No one reading this section of the report can fail to be convinced of the urgency of the situation. The section on housing conditions is little short of startling. When we consider that these needs are further complicated by serious racial and ethnic stratification, and by a sharp conflict of social attitudes on the part of the various economic classes in the community, we need not be surprised to learn that social agencies in Pittsburgh have a very difficult time of it. Their resources and capacities are extremely limited in relation to the urgent needs which obviously exist.

At the same time it is also clear that the social agencies themselves reflect this community background. The report emphasizes again and again the fact that the complications of community organization arise directly from the underlying community situation. Social work itself is not a universal solvent. The investigators found much to commend in the way in which social agencies rose above the level of conflict in other phases of community life, even though at the same time they had to condemn some of the unfortunate situations existing among the agencies.

This brings us to a consideration of the results of this research—not results in the professional sense of a search for truth, but in social action in the community. In this respect there has been to date some disappointment. While certain of the recommendations have been acted upon and others are in process of adjustment, the fact still remains that little progress has been made in some others. On this point the report provides a detailed statement of changes made up to the time of publication, noting the steps which had been taken on each of the recommendations. It is disheartening to read that in certain important professional fields no progress has yet been made. However, Mr. Klein takes a philosophic attitude toward this problem, contending (and rightly so) that any sure progress takes considerable time and that we may expect negotiations to proceed in the years to come.

In conclusion it may be said that as a method of social research this project has amply demonstrated its success. It is to be hoped that the operating agencies in social work will be able to make use of its findings.

EWAN CLAGUE

SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD WASHINGTON, D.C.

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Housing Comes of Age. By MICHAEL W. STRAUS and TALBOT WEGG. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. 259. \$2.75.

This book by two officials of the Public Works Administration is a brief but often dramatic account of the origin and growth of the program of the P.W.A. Housing Division. The authors sketch briefly the history of the growing consciousness of a housing problem during the last fifty years, the philanthropic housing experiments in various cities, the limited dividend-housing estates, and finally the government-financed housing projects which now number fifty-one and which provide 21,800 dwellings at an average cost of less than \$7.00 per room per month, including all utilities except telephone. We have known the statistics of the P.W.A. housing projects before, but this is the first time that a connected story of the federal housing program has been told.

P.W.A. houses are a by-product of relief appropriations by Congress. In 1933 and 1934 there was hardly a possibility that the government could have put through Congress a housing act even faintly resembling the Housing Act of 1937, but in the Recovery Act there are seventeen innocent but portentious words: "The Administrator, under the direction of the President, shall include among other things (in the Public Works Program) the following: .... (d) construction, reconstruction, alterations or repair under public regulation or control of low-rent housing and slum clearance project. ...." Those last words

represent the sole legal authority for the development of public housing projects. "The Federal housing programme started with a blank page and no given facts," say the authors. "Thus, almost unnoticed, on 16 June 1933, a policy of public housing was born." The policy was indeed born, but the infant suffered many and extraordinary illnesses during its first two years of life. Following the national prejudices, the Housing Division attempted to stimulate private construction. A total of 533 applications for loans to construct limited-dividend projects were reviewed by the Division. Twenty were recommended for allotments, but thirteen of these in the end could not qualify for loan agreements. Consequently, on October 29, 1933, Secretary Ickes announced the intention of the government to build low-cost apartment houses as slum clearance projects.

The incorporation of the Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation was announced at the same time. The President allotted \$100,000,000 to the new corporation. In less than three months the Comptroller-General informed Mr. Ickes that the Recovery Act did not give legal authority for the expenditure of public funds in this way. In February, 1934, the Housing Division itself assumed the functions of the now defunct corporation. This shift imposed all the delays incident to rules of government procedure, audit of expenses, referring title difficulties to the Department of Justice, and competitive bidding on contracts-limitations under which all ordinary governmental agencies operate but from which a government corporation would have been relatively free. A few states had in the meantime adopted housing legislation, and cities were beginning to establish municipal housing authorities. But the problems incidental to the assembling of land remained vexatious. Condemnation proceedings were initiated, which seemed to be the only practicable method of expediting the construction of slum clearance projects. But even this method was threatened when the Federal District Court at Louisville on January 4, 1935, denied the petition of the Housing Division to condemn land. All work on the acquisition of land by the Housing Division in all cities was suspended. The Circuit Court of Appeals, Sixth District, upheld the decision of the District Court. The government appealed to the Supreme Court but later dismissed the suit. The Housing Division abandoned this method of acquiring land. By the middle of the year, 1935, several cases involving the power of local housing authorities to condemn land for public housing purposes had reached the courts, and where the statute was properly drawn the courts were sustaining the right to condemn. A way had thus been found to acquire land in large blocks without paying exorbitant prices for it, and public housing was beginning to emerge clearly as a joint undertaking between the federal and local governments. This experience was later crystallized in the United States Housing Act of 1937.

Housing Comes of Age traces the growth of a national policy from its beginnings in the minds of a few enthusiastic housers to its establishment in the Act of 1937. It is a book which all persons interested in housing should read in order to see the American housing program in perspective. One wishes, how-

ever, that the authors had documented their statements of fact more fully. In the chapter entitled "Bids, Bricks and Brickbats," they have given a graphic account of local difficulties encountered, but we have little indication of the proof of statements made. The reader must accept important judgments and reports of housing experience on the basis of his faith in the knowledge and integrity of the authors. They have written an interesting story, but as a historical record it would be more valuable if the sources of information had been given more often.

R. CLYDE WHITE

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American Family Laws, Vol. V: Incompetents and Dependents. By Chester G. Vernier, assisted by J. Rex Dibble and Richard A. Frank. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. xxxiii+693. \$6.50.

Confronting the statutory forest of some thirty-eight states, eight territories, and the District of Columbia in 1886, Frederic J. Stimson wielded his scholastic ax through two hundred and thirty-five volumes of statutes, cleared away the underbrush of local and special legislation, and presented in two volumes an almost complete survey of American statute law. In his Preface he sanguinely reported that "the several states at the present time do rarely change their important substantive law," and proposed the issuance of biennial supplements; only one supplement was thereafter published. However, not mere change but revolution came about in the statutory field, especially in family law. Five volumes of 2,721 pages, the labor of a decade, were required by Vernier to present the materials set forth by Stimson in about a hundred pages.

But mere bulk is not the only problem which faces the reviewer of legislative law in these United States. In 1886 a new type of underbrush was already discernible; today that underbrush—the mass of interpretative judicial materials has grown as thick as the trees and cannot be cut away. In this lies a weakness in Vernier's presentation. For illustration, relying upon the language of the statute. Vernier reports that the juvenile courts in Georgia and Illinois have exclusive original jurisdiction over child offenders (V, 182). The unfortunate decisions of People v. Lattimore, 362 Ill. 206, and Hicks v. The State, 146 Ga. 706, hold that the criminal courts in those states have concurrent jurisdiction with the juvenile court. Professor Vernier fully realized this difficulty and meets it to a considerable extent by his summaries of the common law and by extensive references to books, articles, notes, and annotations which appear at the end of each section discussed. The tremendous task which would be entailed in any attempted analysis of combined case and statute law is recognized, and it would be unseemly to grumble because that task was not undertaken. If the users of Vernier bear in mind the limitation discussed they will not be led astray.

Of the purposes of Vernier's volumes-annotation, analysis, and digest-

the work is most valuable to the social worker as a digest and reference work. The tables set forth in concise terms volumes of legislation, and afford a quick, intelligent summary of the law and a comparative foundation nowhere else to be found. A comparison to civil law and English statutes would have greatly enhanced this aspect of the work, but again that is asking too much in one work. For the student or worker without a law library available the work is indispensable, and every committee considering changes in family law will, through these volumes, have before it the necessary materials disclosing all previous efforts by state legislatures. A check of the tables reveals accuracy in reporting; the work is entirely reliable. The presentation of the materials is far more complete and satisfactory than was that of the pioneer Stimson. Stimson's survey was kaleidoscopic—two or three pages sufficed for a consideration of adoption laws; Vernier's work is more truly a digest. In one respect, however, the references to statutes is at fault. In referring to state compilations, in a number of states the reference is to a compilation that is antedated. For example, reference is made to the Indiana compilation of 1926 instead of the 1933 compilation; Kansas, 1923 instead of 1935; Louisiana, 1920 instead of 1932; North Carolina, 1927 instead of 1935; Pennsylvania, 1920 instead of 1930; and Washington, 1922 instead of 1932.

Volume V is concerned with four main subjects: infants, aliens, drunkards, and insane persons. There can be no quarrel with the choice of subject matter except in one important respect. Although certain of the sections on infants embrace occasional guardianship-law problems, Vernier does not in any of his volumes include a discussion of guardianship law as such. All the material in this last volume is valuable, but it would seem more desirable in presenting family law to consider the vital guardian and ward relationship. This omission may be due to the dominant tendency in this country to confine guardian and ward statutes to the preservation of the property of the ward and to ignore his personal welfare. Such guardianship problems as are included by Vernier are, for example, concerned with property and property rights. A digest and analysis of guardian and ward law would seem essential to a proper understanding of the role of the state as parens patriae and its relationship to family law.

Another important contribution of Vernier is his critical analysis of the statutes. At the end of each section he summarizes the main problems involved and offers constructive suggestions. Penetrating and concise, the analysis reveals the author and his associates as not mere compilers, but as keen students aware of the many social problems revealed in the material. One wishes, however, that more space had been devoted to an elaboration of the author's comments, for many of the conclusions are not supported by facts or argument. The complete annotations appended to each section do, however, bulwark the author's conclusions.

One difficulty in the handling of statutory materials is that legislatures consistently deal with fragmentary problems in a particular field of substantive

law without considering the whole. The outline of the procedures followed in the various states in the handling of the insane criminal would have been more effective if it could have been discussed in relation to the general field of criminal procedure; similarly, the treatment of the defenses of minority, insanity, and drunkenness, if considered in a general discussion of the contract and tort fields. Vernier's discussion of these special problems of necessity could not include a discussion of the general field. Despite this handicap the discussion is thorough and illuminating.

In an era when statute law is quickly invading and replacing the substantive common law, Vernier's work is a landmark of progress.

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Eagle Forgotten: The Life of John Peter Altgeld. By HARRY BARNARD. Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1938. Pp. 496. \$4.00.

To many students of public welfare, or charities and corrections as it was known in the nineties and early nineteen hundreds, the name of Altgeld is chiefly associated with the application of the spoils system to the state government of Illinois, when, after a series of Republican administrations, the Republicans went out and the Democrats came in. To many, Altgeld means chiefly the governor who let Richard Dewey go from Kankakee and possibly opened the way for Small's exploitation of that important service. The emphasis on Dr. Dewey's being allowed to go often diverts attention from the fact that the same spoilsman appointed Florence Kelley, the daughter of "Pig Iron" Kelley of Pennsylvania, as state factory inspector and retained Julia C. Lathrop, whose father had been a friend of Lincoln, who had been appointed by Governor Fifer to the State Board of Public Charities.

It is true that Dr. Dewey's going was a tragedy, followed by another extraordinary use of the appointing power (p. 169) in replacing Dr. Dewey by Dr. Clevenger, of whose party affiliations the governor knew nothing; but when Clevenger tried to resist the corrupt practices, a spoilsman was preferred to the efficient administrator. But he did appoint Florence Kelley and supported the legislation dealing with the prohibition of sweatshops, regulating child labor, and fixing an eight-hour day for women workers. To the young poet, Vachel Lindsay, after a decade, he seemed the Eagle Forgotten, and it is this characterization in that poem that Dr. Barnard has taken for his title. The author is, however, not interested in the welfare—charities and corrections—development and never mentions the name of Julia Lathrop! He is chiefly concerned with Altgeld's pardon of the anarchists, with Altgeld's controversy with Cleveland and Olney, with the Pullman Strike (pp. 280 ff.), and with the attempt through the support of Bryan and the Sixteen-to-One campaign to break the hold of the East and the capitalists on the economic life of the United States.

In spite of the strange omission of his effect on the charities and corrections

aspect of the state government, the volume should be welcomed by social workers interested also in the slow progress in criminal-law reform. Our Penal Machinery and Its Victims, a plea by Altgeld that prevention rather than punishment should be the purpose of those concerned for social reform, was an early (1884) attack on the cruelties of criminal-law administration, and his comments on the effect of partisan influence on judicial administration take on new interest in the light of recent controversies.

Altgeld's story is the not uncommon but always exciting account of the foreign-born child building a career without social or economic advantage, with little formal education, later teaching himself the skilful use of words from a dictionary repeatedly borrowed from Edward Osgood Brown, later judge and distinguished liberal. This he did in spite of a recurring fever, which was a legacy of his service with Ben Butler in the later days of the Virginia campaign. His was not a long life—1848–1902—but it epitomized some of the struggle that since his death the people of the United States have had to wage. Perhaps, if he could have chosen, he would have been happy to have his last efforts put forth against government by injunction and in behalf of the Boers in the war then being waged in South Africa. Perhaps to social workers he will remain for a long time the public official who opened the doors of public service to Florence Kelley and Julia Lathrop.

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Lillian Wald, Neighbor and Crusader. By R. L. DUFFUS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1938. Pp. xiii+371. \$3.50.

For a judgment of the work of a leader in social service and public health, as Lillian Wald has been since the 1890's, the existing needs, the public appreciation of them, and the current conception of the role of the state and private initiative in meeting them must be known. Miss Wald has herself given us much of this in her two books, The House on Henry Street (1915) and Windows on Henry Street (1934). In his biography Mr. Duffus, known to the public for his book reviews in the literary supplement to the Sunday New York Times, has not attempted to give a history of Miss Wald's work or to pass judgment on it. His purpose has been to give the reader a picture of Lillian Wald as a person.

As the founder of the Henry Street Settlement in an east-side district of New York City and of the Henry Street Nursing Service, which was at first the work of herself and another volunteer nurse in the Henry Street district, and which now serves Greater New York, Miss Wald's work has been the expression of her personality, so that it was not possible to write of her without telling much of what she has done and how she has done it. But Henry Street and New York City were by no means the horizons which she saw from Henry Street. Mr. Duffus tells of her work for child labor legislation; her conception of the United States Children's Bureau and her strategy in making her idea a reality and in securing the appointment of Julia C. Lathrop as its first chief; her courageous

leadership for peace and democracy as the World War swept the United States into its orbit; her support of "unpopular causes" and of persecuted individuals; and her interest in the attack on social problems in England, Russia, Mexico—every part of the world, in fact.

Those who saw Lillian Wald in action at the White House conference in 1930 will recall her as a handsome woman, conciliatory, resourceful, and effective in support or opposition, able to present at the right time the letter or telegram which was certain to resolve a controversy in her favor. She was an extraordinary administrator, skilful in the interpretation of her work so that the necessary funds for an ever expanding program were secured, and extremely effective in conference and committee work.

The reader learns, in this volume, of Miss Wald's extraordinary gift for friendship, of her enjoyment of her friends, who ranged from presidents and prime ministers to her neighbors and associates in the promoting of the programs in which she was interested.

The writer of this review met Lillian Wald and Henry Street on her first visit to New York, which was shortly after she took up her residence at Hull-House, and attempted to help the exploited immigrants of Chicago. Characteristically, Lillian Wald felt a first visit should be a memorable one and should include an acquaintance not only with problems and causes but with the gay and amusing aspects of New York City. The first visit was memorable-so was each succeeding visit. Always, even now when her days are spent in her Westport home, people have found her generous of her time, quick to see how she could help on the problems that were brought to her. But always, after she had made a memorandum of exactly whom she would see or write to on the next day, discussion ranged the world around and was finally dropped for some excursion or for tea with people who were thoroughly congenial and whom you were eager to know. It is characteristic of Lillian Wald that in spite of her present physical limitations she is still the gay, interesting, and courageous person with understanding sympathy and helpfulness for old and new friends, and she is still influencing local and national affairs and undertakings.

Her friends will be grateful to Mr. Duffus because his biography makes the reader who has not been privileged to know Miss Wald appreciate her charm as well as her capacity for leadership, co-operation, and individual service.

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The Economics of Labor, Vol. I: Labor's Progress and Some Basic Labor Problems; Vol. II: Labor's Risks and Social Insurance. By HARRY A. MILLIS and ROYAL E. MONTGOMERY. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1938. Pp. xvi + 584; xii+453. \$3.75; \$3.00.

These volumes by Professor Millis and Professor Montgomery of the departments of economics in the University of Chicago and Cornell University are

published under the general title of "The Economics of Labor." In addition to these two a third on *Organized Labor* will shortly appear. While these two men have collaborated in this undertaking, we are told in the Introduction that Professor Montgomery wrote, and is primarily responsible, for the first and Professor Millis for the second, while both have written sections of the third.

The first volume is devoted to wages—the trend of real earnings, the share of the workers in the increasing national income, wage theory, distribution of total income, and governmental regulation of wages—women in industry, child labor, and hours of labor. It is a volume intended for students of the subject and will be a valuable reference book on these subjects.

The volume on *Labor's Risks and Social Insurance* will be of special interest to social workers at this time. It covers unemployment, work accidents, sickness, and old age.

The chapters on sickness and health insurance which were separately printed in 1937 have already been called to the attention of *Review* readers.<sup>I</sup> It is not possible to review here the treatment of all the other subjects. A summary of the authors' discussion of unemployment will indicate the method used and the value of the book.

To this subject three chapters of nearly two hundred pages are devoted. One chapter is on the amount, causes, and effects of unemployment; another on methods of dealing with the problem other than by unemployment insurance; and a third on unemployment insurance. In the second chapter the history of public works and work relief is given, and an evaluation of the works program. The conclusion reached by Mr. Millis after canvassing the arguments for and against a work-relief program is:

Because of the problems found in relief work, it is to be regarded only as a necessary evil in the absence of a better program. . . . . In a better program, true public-works projects, unemployment compensation, and a modernized relief system, together with a system of labor exchanges . . . . , find appropriate place. . . . .

Whether the government does its own work or operates through contractors, the workers would be hired, retained, and paid or discharged on the basis of fitness and efficiency, and quite without reference to relief rolls or charitable list [p. 107].

This in general agrees with the position taken by the delegates' conferences of the American Association of Social Workers from 1934 to the present. But the details of such a program have been little discussed at the conferences, and social workers will find interesting and useful the discussion by Mr. Millis and Mr. Montgomery of such aspects of the subjects as to how a public works program which is planned to relieve unemployment should be financed and timed.

The chapter on "Unemployment Insurance" includes a discussion of the systems established in other countries, particularly Great Britain, of the extent to which it had been voluntarily adopted in the United States before the passage of the Social Security Act, and of the outlook for the federal-state unemployment

<sup>1</sup> This Review, XI (1937), 139.

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compensation system which that act set in motion. The chapter closes with a very brief discussion on unemployment compensation and relief. Mr. Millis does not agree with those who think an adequate system of relief is to be preferred to an insurance system, nor do most social workers. They would agree entirely with the conclusion:

When all is said, it is a fact that increasingly those who have discussed the matters involved and have profited from experience, have come to the conclusion that both a well-devised system of unemployment compensation and an enlightened and efficient system of public relief are essential in caring for the unemployed. It is not a question of the one or the other. . . . . Where compensation cannot be appropriately provided, or when it is inadequate or when it leaves off, there should be adequate provision under a system of relief. The two systems must be complementary [p. 186].

While there may not be the same agreement with all the authors' conclusions, the facts as to each of these "risks of labor" have been carefully assembled and the experience in removing or mitigating them has been critically analyzed. In this period when great, not to say revolutionary, changes have occurred in the governmental approach to these problems, these volumes, which represent years of research and experience in the economics of labor, are particularly timely.

G. A.

Personnel Administration and Procedure as Installed in the Indiana Department of Public Welfare and Unemployment Compensation Division. (Publication No. 61.) Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1938. Pp. 90. \$1.50.

The state of Indiana does not have a general civil service law under which state employees are selected. There have been several branches of the state government, such as the state police and the Department of Financial Institutions, which have selected personnel on a more or less nonpolitical, merit basis, but the Bureau of Personnel, established in connection with the Indiana Department of Public Welfare and the Unemployment Compensation Division, is the first thoroughgoing effort to set up an administrative unit to render a high-grade personnel service to state governmental departments. The Welfare Act of 1936, as amended in 1937, and the Unemployment Compensation Act place the duty on the respective boards of selecting and appointing personnel on a merit basis and authorize the boards to make use of examinations or other methods as they see fit

The provisions in these laws for the selection of personnel could have been ignored or carried out in a half-hearted manner. Fortunately the brief, rather general sections of the laws relating to personnel were taken very seriously. Within less than two months after the enactment of the unemployment compensation law the Board of Unemployment Compensation took up the question of carrying out the personnel provisions. A committee was appointed by the

Board and directed to study the meaning of the law and to recommend a plan for putting it into effect. Within a few days after the appointment of the committee and announcements of its functions through the press, the Board of Public Welfare proposed that they name an equal number of persons for a similar purpose and that the committee become a joint committee of the division and the department. This was done, and the committee set to work. After studying the problem for several days and consulting with representatives of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, the committee outlined in a general way the matters which should be considered in organizing a personnel unit and, among other things, recommended that expert personnel services be obtained from the outside for the purpose of setting up a system. The boards acted favorably on the recommendations of the joint committee and made an arrangement with the Public Administration Service, of Chicago, to study the problem and submit a detailed plan. This was done, and a plan was finally agreed upon by both boards. In the summer of 1936 the Public Administration Service began setting up the personnel organization which came to be known officially as the Bureau of Personnel of the Department of Public Welfare and the Unemployment Compensation Division.

Two years after the Bureau of Personnel was started, the Public Administration Service undertook to describe what had been done and to appraise the Bureau, which they have done in this publication. The system installed

attempts to harmonize and satisfy as fully as practicable the interests of three groups: the citizens of the state, who wish efficient, courteous, and economical service to be rendered by the two agencies; the management, which desires that performance be of highest quality and maximum quantity, so that it may best discharge its responsibilities; and the employees, who wish conditions of service to be such that they may have reasonable assurance of fair compensation, opportunity for recognition and advancement, and protection against capricious removal [p. 1].

These objectives require for their attainment finding qualified persons who are willing to take the examinations, classifying the positions in the service according to responsibility and technical qualifications, establishing and maintaining a compensation plan, promoting employees on the basis of their performance, securing adjustments by transfers, and separating unsatisfactory employees from the service.

The personnel agency consists of a Joint Committee on Personnel Administration, which is the supervising and policy-making body; a director of personnel, who is the executive head of the Bureau, and a technical and clerical staff. The Joint Committee consists of the administrator of the Department of Public Welfare, the director of the Division of Unemployment Compensation, and a chairman selected by these two and appointed with the approval of the boards. Personnel management is thus made an essential function of general executive management. The administrator and the director are responsible to their respective boards for personnel policies and practices just as they are for other mat-

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ters. There can be no evasion of responsibility on their part, as there might be if the Joint Committee were an outside rather than an inside co-ordinating body. The two boards have drawn up rules and regulations governing personnel administration in the state offices and in the county welfare departments—they have only a limited authority over the latter, however. "As of May 1, 1938, a total of 2,140 state and county positions were serviced by the Bureau of Personnel" (p. 7).

The Bureau of Personnel is the creature of the two boards. It has no status in law other than that suggested in the general provisions of the welfare and unemployment compensation laws for a merit plan for selecting employees. Public Administration Service points out that in order to assure the continuance of its present successful performance and future improvement the Bureau and the personnel system should be authorized by specific legislation, and it is suggested that such legislation permit extension of the jurisdicton of the Bureau to other divisions and departments of the state government. The Bureau administers a personnel plan of limited scope which resembles closely conventional civil service systems, but it is integrated with management which more closely approaches the type of personnel administration found in business.

A number of revisions are suggested by Public Administration Service: revision of the tests and testing machinery, a review of the minimum specifications for position classes, relaxing the rules which prescribe a fixed priority of eligible lists, greater initiative on the part of the Bureau in making personnel adjustments, and conducting in-service training.

It is interesting to note, as Public Administration Service points out, that the personnel administration and procedure established by the department and the division is similar to the recommendations for the improvement of federal personnel administration which were made by the President's Committee on Administrative Management.

R. C. W.

Public Personnel Problems from the Standpoint of the Operating Officer. By LEWIS MERIAM. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1938. Pp. xii+440. \$3.00.

The titles of the chapters of this book are in one sense misleading. They suggest traditional materials—"Hours of Work," "Retirement," "Morale and Discipline," etc. Actually, however, the volume by no means follows a conventional pattern. The various problems are discussed, not from the viewpoint of a central personnel authority and not from the crow's nest of academic detachment, but rather from the angle of the administrator of a going service. The approach, therefore, is novel, and the book is in no sense merely a rehash of materials already available elsewhere. Emphasis is laid throughout upon the inescapable truth that success in personnel administration depends in very large measure not upon the central personnel authority but upon the men and

women in responsible posts in the operating units. The book should prove helpful, however, not only to bureau chiefs and other administrative officials but also to laymen who are concerned to acquire a realistic understanding of the

problems of personnel administration in government.

This is one book in which footnotes will be read with enthusiasm. From his long and varied experience with personnel problems at several levels of government, the author has drawn a host of case histories, anecdotes, and epigrams to illustrate the principles stressed in the text. This illustrative material appears mainly in footnotes. Much of it is so well pointed and so salty that the reader presently finds himself reading the footnotes first and the text afterward. Debated principles acquire new significance when viewed thus in terms of a concrete human situation.

The author says some wise things about the tendency in this country to place such a high premium upon administrative work. The excellent craftsman often finds he can reap added rewards only by abandoning the work he likes and does well, to accept administrative duties he dislikes and does badly. An arrangement whereby the worker of outstanding achievements could receive a salary at least equal to that of his immediate administrative superior would "increase the resemblance of the scientific, technical and professional services [of government] to the universities, for the competent man could look forward to advancement to the full professor salary rank whether he was or was not selected for an administrative supervisory position." This proposal is worthy of consideration in several fields and will strike a responsive chord in many a heart. The reviewer confesses he has long wished he might establish a family welfare agency in which the case workers of tested capacity would receive the top salaries in the organization. Those who have highly developed skills in the field of social treatment can ill be spared from that work. Every inducement should be offered to retain them where they are effective.

Case workers will find a history of more than common interest in footnote 4 on page 125. Under the classification Act of 1923 a certain ambulance driver drew a salary of \$100 per month. After his death his widow applied for mothers' aid. The social workers decided that, in a home with so many small children, the minimum pension should be \$125 a month, or 25 per cent more than the family had enjoyed during the father's life. Subsidizing low-wage private industry from relief funds is a familiar problem among social workers. The situation obviously takes on new angles of interest when the wage is fixed by act of a democratically elected Congress.

Of great current interest also are the discussions of unions in government service and of political activity on the part of government employees. The author sees great value in enlightened unionism. "So far as the history of our national government goes," he says (p. 279), "it shows clearly that before employees were organized and affiliated, Congress gave little attention to the salaries and conditions of employment of government workers." He thinks gov-

ernment employees as such cannot actively support or oppose one party or one candidate. Whether he would extend this prohibition to outside civic or professional organizations in which government employees are very numerous is not entirely clear. As the number of persons in government service increases, this question will take on added importance. In this country the discipline of silence is hard to accept and still harder to impose.

The least satisfying chapter in the book is entitled "Relationships between Political Officers and Civil Servants." The author finds the crux of our difficulty in the fact that the civil service in this country has two masters—the executive and the legislature. He proposes that certain high administrative positions be split into two offices—one to handle activities of a political character, the other to control nonpolitical functions. The postmaster-general's office is cited as an illustration. The accompanying exegesis seems unconvincing. It appears to rest on the assumption that constitutional change is impossible. The difficulties are, of course, very great; but it seems a very dubious solution to propose that two executives with two masters be substituted for one executive with two masters. The latter plan may be poor, but at least it presents a simpler problem of co-ordination.

In organization and in clarity of expression this book ranks high. It has in addition that intangible quality sometimes called "individuality of style." One closes the book with the feeling that he has just completed an interesting, personal, face-to-face chat with Lewis Meriam.

WAYNE MCMILLEN

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#### BRIEF NOTICES

The Social Services: A Historical Survey. By W. HARDY WICKWAR. London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1936. Pp. 268. 10s. 6d.

This volume is very attractive both as to title and as to appearance, but, although it is called a historical survey, it covers a field that is so broad that the treatment of any one subject is necessarily very sketchy either as a historical or as a present services review. The field surveyed by the author includes not only poor relief and the social insurances but education and public health. Beginning with a quotation from Deuteronomy, the last chapter ends with social service expenditures of 1931. This book is apparently intended for the general reader and not for the student of any one of the subjects under discussion, since there is at best a very superficial treatment of any one of the subjects dealt with.

There is a vagueness at many points, both as regards statistics and as regards general statements, that makes the volume rather difficult for Americans to use. The following extract from the last paragraph is perhaps illustrative of the enigmatic statements that are found: "Even if its success reached the limits of the possible, the social-service state of today would be up against problems greater than itself. For there are things that even the most intelligent of social services cannot do. . . . . Social

service, like nationalism, is not enough. And none but a nationalist can dream of its adequacy in producing a new Utopia, a state community, a state of equilibrium. The re-integration of the state in the world community is as hard as the re-integration of the individual in the nation-state."

Standards of Relief: An Analysis of One Hundred Family Case Records. By Anna Roselle Johnson. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1938. Pp. x+153.

The first four chapters of this Doctor's dissertation provide the background for an analysis of one hundred case records of regular "allowance families" under care of the Family Service Association of Washington, D.C., sometime during the decade of 1923-33.

These early chapters include a brief survey of previous studies relating to family budgets, an outline of English poor law policy, the history of the charity organization movement in Europe and America, and the history of the agency whose records were studied.

The data were assembled by Miss Johnson, an experienced case worker, through the transfer of material from the case records to a schedule. As would be expected, many questions in the schedule could not be answered from all the records. Some of the conclusions are, therefore, questionable because of the small number of cases on which they are based.

The analysis includes "Social Characteristics of the Families," "Distribution and Housing," and four chapters devoted to a discussion of budgets and relief. The presentation is facilitated by the use of statistical tables and graphs. Unfortunately, however, the material relating to the subject of "Relief Standards" is fragmentary and incomplete. Budgets and income both were known for only fifty-three families. No material is included with reference to amounts spent for relief during the same period by other agencies in the community, nor is there any attempt to correlate the agency's intake policies or total case load with the community trends in case work or relief. Figures concerning the amounts spent for administration and service might also be significant in relation to amounts spent for relief.

The most interesting chapters are those devoted to a history of the agency, formerly the Associated Charities, which has made a substantial contribution in the fields of community organization and social reform in Washington, and the one on "Case Work Treatment." In the latter chapter the author correlates the trend within this agency toward a higher quality of service with the developments in the general field of case work.

GRACE A. BROWNING

Across the Desk of a Relief Administrator. By BENJAMIN GLASSBERG. Chicago: American Public Welfare Association, 1938. Pp. 48. \$0.50.

This is an administrator's log or diary covering January 14 to February 11, 1938. In it Mr. Glassberg, the superintendent of the Department of Out-Door Relief in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, discusses the problems that came to him during that period. Some of the headings in the Table of Contents are: "How Can Relief Expenditures Be Cut?" "Transient Problems," "Administration of Social Security Aid—Mothers' Pensions," "Relief for Strikers," "Relief for Seamen," "Staff Conferences,"

"Appeals from Union and Workers' Alliance," "Meeting with Wisconsin State Medical Society"—and many other administrative problems. Administrators of relief will find all this pamphlet interesting and useful whether they agree or disagree with the author's conclusions.

In his Preface, Mr. Glassberg says: "No matter how well the administrator's job is done, he satisfies no one, and everyone, with more or less justice, is ready to criticize. The person on relief cannot, in the nature of things, accept his status with any degree of equanimity, in spite of some popular opinion to the contrary." Certainly in Milwaukee, where a food dispensary instead of cash payments is still maintained, although Socialists still control the city government, the administrator cannot hope that clients will be even reasonably satisfied, nor can citizens expect that the last vestige of independence and self-respect of those on relief will be salvaged. The system Mr. Glassberg administers and his skill as an administrator must be sharply differentiated—the one social workers almost universally condemn while commending the other.

Studies in Current Tax Problems. By CARL SHOUP, ROY BLOUGH, and MABEL NEWCOMER. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1937. Pp. xxiii+303. \$3.50.

Systems of taxation, the proper distribution of tax burdens, costs of administering various forms of taxes, and estimates of tax yields have come to be very important subjects of study for social workers who are concerned about the development of the public social services. The present volume follows the Twentieth Century Fund's Facing the Tax Problem, which was the first volume in the Fund's survey of taxation in the United States.

Our readers will be especially interested in the studies by Dr. Mabel Newcomer, head of the department of economics at Vassar College, which deal with estimates of federal, state, and local expenditures, 1936–40. Dr. Newcomer discusses trends in expenditure—federal, state, and local—for education, highways, relief, and social security.

The Nation's Health: A Survey of the Public Health Services of Great Britain.

London: Reprinted from the Times "National Health Number," 1938.
Pp. 197. 25. 6d.

This is a useful reprint of a popular survey of the British Public Health Services, published with numerous illustrations. The prime minister and two members of the Cabinet contribute short articles, and some very well-known names are found among the other contributors, such as Sir Arthur MacNalty, the present chief medical officer of the Ministry of Health, who writes a leading article on "The British Health Services"; Sir George Newman who writes on the "Health of the School Child"; and Dr. G. F. McCleary, who contributes an article on "Safer Motherhood." There is rather an extensive group of thirteen articles on the subject of *Physical Training and Recreation*, and there are four articles dealing with such subjects as "Houses and Homes," "Playing Fields and Open Spaces," and the "Health of the Industrial Worker." There are eight articles grouped together under the general heading, *The Fight against Disease*, including one article on "The Nursing Service," another on "Prevention of Tuberculosis," and special articles on "The National Eye Service," the "Care of the Teeth," and "Venereal Diseases." Finally there are two short sections of three articles each, dealing with food, diet, and mental health.

Jacob A. Riis, Police Reporter, Reformer, Useful Citizen. By LOUISE WARE. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1938. Pp. xxii+335. \$3.00.

Rather than in presenting any new information of importance, the value of Miss Ware's book lies in her having collected and made easily accessible in a well-organized manner the story of Jacob Riis, which heretofore the reader had to gather from widely scattered sources. The author has avoided the exaggerated eulogies that endanger the path of a biographer, carefully quoting both contemporary criticism and praise in an effort to present a just evaluation of the contribution of this "useful citizen."

In 1901 the New York Times prophesied in a review of one of the books of Mr. Riis that it was as a reformer and not as a reporter that its author would be remembered. This reviewer, thirty-seven years later, would say that it is rather in a merging of these two that the contribution lies. Working at a time when little had been done in the United States to arouse interest or conscience over social conditions, this unscientific Danish immigrant, "resourceful and unconquerable," alive with memories of the blue skies and green pastures of his native land, was able, by realistic pen and vivid lectures, to dramatize to the nation the pictures of poverty and suffering as he saw them in the crowded city slums. While, as he himself said, he was not interested in theories of reform, he was allied to persons in New York who saw the advantages in consciously affected programs. Thus he worked with Josephine Shaw Lowell and pointed out to Theodore Roosevelt conditions which the latter had authority to control.

The present-day social worker would not limit the "cure of the poverty problem" to the education of children (p. 147) or agree with Mr. Riis's professed lack of sympathy with research into problems of social need—"sticking a human being in misery like a bug on a pin for leisurely investigation and learned indexing" (p. 200). In spite of this, he was himself, although perhaps unconscious of such interpretation, no mean investigator, as he went about with his camera taking pictures of tenements or of the sources of contamination of the New York water supply, or counting the teeth of employed children in order to prove their being under legal working age. Such activities aided this reporter-reformer to achieve a remarkable clarity in presenting his vision of the effects of bad housing, overcrowding, lack of sanitation, child labor, absence of play space and public parks, and of passing it on to those who could bring about the needed changes.

MARGARET CREECH

Unemployment Insurance and Assistance in Britain. By PERCY COHEN. London: Harrap, 1938. Pp. 272. 8s. 6d.

The author of this volume utilizes portions of his account of the historical development of the British system of unemployment insurance which was included in his earlier volume on The British System of Unemployment Insurance. This historical account has now been continued in the present volume and brought down to the present day. Mr. Cohen comments that "no branch of Social Insurance has witnessed so many changes, due very much more to the painful consequences of economic stress than to the second thoughts of legislators." However, he thinks that "after the far-reaching reconstruction of 1934," i.e., the Unemployment Act of that year, the British system of unemployment insurance seemed "to have attained a situation of comparative stability"; and he suggests that any future development of the combined systems of unemployment insurance and unemployment assistance may spring from economic discovery rather than "the contraction forced by adversity."

In general, American readers will not agree with the evaluation of the British system of contributory insurance as it is set out by the author, but this brief volume of some two hundred and fifty pages with a few appendixes does not call for detailed criticism or controversy.

One of the chapters of the new volume deals with the "unemployment-assistance" scheme, and another deals with what the author describes as "training instruction and welfare." The point of view frequently met with in England is described in the section called "Welfare Work": "The Provision of public funds combined with the active, if unobtrusive, co-operation of the Ministry of Labour, the Unemployment Assistance Board, and the Commissioners for the Special Areas, have given increasing scope to activities more appropriately directed through voluntary organizations than through the medium of Government Departments. Welfare work is essentially the sphere for voluntary effort, but a wise partnership between State and private enterprise gives it perspective, frees it from financial stringency, and helps to relieve the complex problem of unemployment at angles outside the range of Whitehall. In providing public funds for strictly defined purposes, the State, by supplementing and stimulating voluntary effort, avoids the largess which otherwise would have had the effect of drying up the wells of private philanthropy." American comment on this typically British point of view would seem to be unnecessary.

E. A.

The Master Plan. By Edward M. Bassett. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1938. Pp. 151. \$2.00.

The phrase "master plan," as used by Mr. Bassett, is given a narrow, technical meaning. "Each of the elements of the plan set forth in this book," says Mr. Bassett, "relates to land areas; has been stamped on land areas by the community for community use; can be shown on a map" (p. 50). The master plan of the community has only seven elements: streets, which include pedestrian and vehicular bridges and tunnels; parks, which include parkways; sites for public buildings; public reservations; zoning districts; routes for public utilities; and pierhead and bulkhead lines. A master plan is a design for the community made by a planning commission. It differs from an official map in that an official map is adopted by the legislative body of the community, whereas a master plan is flexible, is made by the planning commission, which may change it at will, and is a guide to, but not a legal restriction upon, the city council or a municipal department.

Mr. Bassett believes that a clear, technical definition of the conception of the master plan is in the interest of sound municipal development. By restricting its scope to land-planning it becomes in fact a basic, all-embracing design for the community. The new charter of New York City which went into effect January 1, 1938, contains all the elements of the master plan, as described by Mr. Bassett, and it distinguishes it from the official map.

R. C. W.

Changes and Trends in Child Labor and Its Control. By Homer Folks. National Child Labor Committee, Publication No. 375. New York City, June, 1938. Pp. 30.

A reprint of an address delivered by Homer Folks at the Thirty-third Annual Luncheon of the National Child Labor Committee at the Seattle National Conférence

has been made available by the National Child Labor Committee. In this pamphlet Mr. Folks discusses with admirable clearance and brevity the present status of child labor legislation, working children who are still inadequately protected, what the probable accomplishments of the child labor provision of the Federal Fair Labor Standards bill will be and the outlook for the amendment in view of the Kentucky and Kansas cases which are now before the Supreme Court. On all these subjects there is great confusion in the minds of the public, so that this summary is timely and aseful.

Removal of the evils and injustice of child labor has always been and still is a special responsibility of social workers. Mr. Folks reminds us of this and our larger responsibility to assist in removing the causes that lead parents to send their children to work instead of to school.

Local Government in England. By E. L. HASLUCK. London: Cambridge University Press, 1936. Pp. ix+363. 125. 6d.

A competent discussion of English local government services is always interesting and useful to American social workers, and this is a very competently written book. There are excellent chapters on local government areas, central control, and the financial basis of local government services and local government administration. The total revenues available for the English local governments are divided into five classes: (1) local taxes, which bring in about 150 million pounds; (2) grants-in-aid, which are about 135 million pounds; (3) municipal trading enterprises, about 120 million pounds; (4) loans, about 100 million pounds; and (5) rents of municipal properties and miscellaneous items, about 50 million pounds. Of special interest is the chapter dealing with the extension of the local government services, which includes an account of the local governmental organization for such different social services as public assistance, public health, police, and education. Although the English system of local government is in so many ways unlike our own, there are always many points of common interest to social workers on both sides of the Atlantic on the subject of local administration of relief and health services.

Persons and Periods: Studies. By G. D. H. Cole. New York: Macmillan Co., 1938. Pp. 339. \$3.75.

The publishers announce this volume as "a collection of essays and studies dealing mainly with social change in England since the beginning of the eighteenth century." Just why Mr. Cole cared to include an essay on Henry Ford is not clear. Most of the essays have already been published—some of them as introductions to new editions of old classics. The essay on "William Morris and the Modern World," originally a centenary lecture, is one of the contributions to this volume that is not available to the reader elsewhere; and the essay on "London—One Fifth of England," which reviews a period of some two hundred years, has not been published before in the present form. However, several of the old studies have been revised and some of them completely re-written.

Whatever the reason may be for assembling these essays in a single volume, it must <sup>1</sup> See this *Review*, XI (December, 1937), 710.

be said that G. D. H. Cole is a man of interesting and original ideas, which he can usually express with vigorous conviction. American students will be interested in the article on "The Webbs: Prophets of the New Order," which appeared in Current History at the time when Mr. and Mrs. Webb were about to make their first visit to the Soviet Union.

Introduction to the Theory of Employment. By Joan Robinson. London: Macmillan & Co., 1937. Pp. ix+127. 4s. 6d.

This book, by a competent English economist, offers a useful account of the principles governing fluctuations in employment and the state of trade. In general, the author follows the theories of Mr. Keynes, which have been somewhat revolutionary in this field. In order to make the volume more widely useful, the author has tried to avoid technicalities of language and mathematical formulas, and the book offers both the student and the layman an excellent introduction to the study of one of the most difficult social problems which the modern world is now trying to solve.

A Study of Law Administration in Connecticut: A Report of an Investigation of the Activities of Certain Trial Courts of the State. By Charles E. Clark and Harry Shulman. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. Pp. xiii+239. \$3.00.

What Dean Charles E. Clark of the Yale Law School thinks worth doing or worth having done must be worth doing and worth having done. There have been many serious attempts to describe and interpret in statistical terms activities of the courts in selected jurisdictions. This volume reports the results of a study initiated in 1926 of certain trial courts in Connecticut. The names of distinguished men are associated with the undertaking. The material is presented in a series of chapters, the first giving a "General Picture," another on the "Jury," one on "Mortgage Foreclosures," one on "Divorce," one on "Automobile Negligence," one on "Criminal Cases," and a "Conclusion." There are four appendixes, the last of which contains the various schedules used in the inquiry. The two chapters of special interest to social workers are those on "Divorce" (chap. v) and on "Criminal Cases" (chap. vii). The concluding chapter is interesting because it frankly admits the exaggerated claims that have been put forward in connection with this and other analogous undertakings but calls attention to the need of some "permanent machinery to supply statistical data on judicial administration." Frequent reference is made by students to "judicial reports" when it is not realized that courts do not issue "reports." The judicial decisions are reported and indexed and principles are published so that lawyers may plead their causes; but what courts do, what causes are brought before them, is rarely reported. In Illinois the constitution (Art. VI, sec. 31) requires circuit courts annually to report to the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court to report to the governor. But what is the constitution among courts? Making such reports has never been found to be "practicable" in Illinois.

This volume supplies an argument for the establishment of such a permanent system of recording and evidence that such a proposal is possible and practicable.

# REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Migration of Workers: Preliminary Report of the Secretary of Labor. U.S. Department of Labor, 1938. 2 vols. Pp. xv + 296.

Under Senate Resolution No. 298 of the Seventy-fourth Congress adopted June 18, 1936, the Secretary of Labor was directed "to study, survey, and investigate the social and economic needs of laborers migrating across State lines, obtaining all facts possible in relation thereto which would not only be of public interest but which would aid the Congress and the States in enacting remedial legislation." The Secretary was further directed to "report to the Senate with recommendations for legislation." Although the Senate neglected to arrange for any funds to carry out its orders, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Children's Bureau were able to send some investigators into the field and to prepare a preliminary report, which was submitted to the Senate on July 3, 1937.

The preliminary report contained no recommendations for remedial legislation since sufficient funds were not available to allow the necessary work to be done. It did, however, present a most comprehensive statement of the social and economic needs of migratory persons and families. For over a year attempts were made to have the report published as a Senate document. In spite of the numerous requests which poured into Washington for copies, the Senate failed to order it printed. To meet this demand for copies, however, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor have mimeographed this limited edition.

No changes have been made in the report as it was submitted to the Senate except that the forty-eight charts and illustrations which accompanied the original text have been omitted. The text and reference list are, therefore, more than a year old and take no account of the most recent information.

These volumes are a most important addition to the literature on transiency. Handicapped by the lack of funds, no great amount of original investigation could be undertaken, but a large volume of scattered and hitherto inaccessible information on the subject has been brought together and so well presented as to give a clear and convincing picture of the conditions under which migrants work and live.

It is reported that among the migrant population there is an increasing number of native-white persons, a displacement of single men by migrant families, and a growing tendency for the young of the most employable ages to join the migrant group. The necessity for the migration of workers is well established, not only because of the pressure of drought, tenancy, and other restrictions of opportunity, but also because of the opportunities presented by relocation and the demand for seasonal labor. The waste resulting from misdirected migration and the deficiencies of our employment services are demonstrated by description of the various ways in which migrants secure or are recruited for jobs. It was found that the earnings of migrants averaged about three hundred dollars a year per single man and four hundred dollars a year per family. It is further pointed out that the migrant is overlooked in much of our social legislation and that interstate agreements need to be established to secure his rights where he does happen to become eligible for benefits provided by the Social Security Act.

In Part II the Children's Bureau has described the social conditions faced by the migrants—their isolation from normal activities of the community. their deplorable housing, their lack of medical care and the corresponding danger to the communities into which they come, and the paucity of educational opportunities for their children. A comprehensive history of the development of care for nonresidents is included, with a description of the federal transient program and its liquidation. The volume concludes with a valuable summary of the assistance which is now available to nonresidents in various states.

The Appendix material which makes up Volume II includes a recapitulation of the settlement requirements of the states, a reference list which runs for more than forty pages, some estimates on the extent of migration, the proposed uniform transfer of dependents act, and reports of two Children's Bureau studies of migrants.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Children's Bureau have, in this preliminary report, made a fine beginning for the job which must be done. It is hoped that continued study of the social and economic needs of those who move will be possible and that the second part of the senatorial mandate may be fulfilled in the submission of recommendations for remedial legislation which will guide the Congress and the states.

PHILIP E. RYAN

COMMITTEE ON CARE OF TRANSIENT AND HOMELESS

Migratory Farm Labor and the Hop Industry on the Pacific Coast with Special Application to Problems of the Yakima Valley, Washington. By CARL F. REUSS, PAUL H. LANDIS, and RICHARD WAKEFIELD. (Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, "Rural Sociology Series in Farm Labor," No. 3.) Pullman, Wash., 1938. Pp. 64.

Specialized fruit and vegetable culture along the Pacific Coast has created a migratory labor problem of serious proportions. The workers who pick these crops during the harvest season are described in this report as "all-important cogs in a commercial agriculture, sought after when the crops ripen and require

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hand labor for their picking, unwanted in the community when the trees and fields are bare after the harvest." Hops require an especially large number of pickers in the Yakima Valley—many more proportionately than the apple and fruit crops.

According to this report approximately one-half of the hop-pickers come from outside the state of Washington—more from the West-North-Central states than from Washington West Coast cities. As the report points out:

Since so many pickers had gone to the expense of traveling these long distances for a short work period, it was almost imperative that they receive high wages if they were to pay expenses and live independently. However, their wages were not high, and this situation repeated year after year is one of the reasons why Yakima County has the highest per capita relief burden of any county in the state [p. 32].

This report, indeed, shows that over one-fourth of the single men and one-tenth of the families received less than \$201 in cash during the preceding year, while 78.5 of the single men and 62.3 per cent of the families made less than \$601 during the preceding year. This explains the fact that over 40 per cent of the families and 12 per cent of the single persons studied had received relief during the preceding year.

But low wages are not the only problem. Insanitary living conditions are common, adequate medical care is not available, and the children in the camps, although not always employed, were not in school. In this connection it should be noted that, while 27.6 per cent of the camp population were under fifteen years of age, one-eighth of the workers interviewed were under that age. The report points out that

while children can pick hops and thereby add to the family income, their ability is much below that of adults. On the basis of these findings, it seems doubtful whether large families who come to the hop fields in the expectation of putting their children to picking are actually as far ahead financially as they imagine themselves to be. It is certain that the child workers themselves are deprived of educational advantages which hinder them in their later accommodation to society.

Racially the group includes Negroes, Filipinos, Indians, and whites, but the number of Filipinos is decreasing, as since their unionization by the C.I.O. they have obtained better wages elsewhere. It is, therefore, the white native-born Americans who do most of the hop-picking—farmers from the drought section, city dwellers, old people, and children.

While the title of the concluding chapter of the report is "Suggestions for Improvement of Conditions," it points out the improvements that need to be made rather than how they are to be brought about—which, as the California experience demonstrates, is the important question.

GRACE ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Dependency of Youth: A Study Based on the Census of 1931 and Supplementary Data. By J. E. ROBBINS. (Dominion of Canada Bureau of Statistics, Census Monograph No. 9.) Ottawa: King's Printer, 1937. Pp. 71. \$0.35.

In this very interesting and useful monograph facts assembled in the 1931 Census of Canada have been analyzed and compared with earlier census findings. The chapter headings are (i) "The Lengthening Dependency of Youth and Some of Its Implications," (ii) "The Cost of Rearing a Canadian Child to the Age of Independence," (iii) "Some Considerations on the Cost of Schooling," (iv) "The Family Circumstances of Canadian Children and Their Effect on Education," (v) "Youthful Dependency Resulting from Defects, Physical, Mental and Social." There is an excellent summary of the findings at the beginning, and the report ends with "Concluding Notes."

It is possible here to call attention to only a few of the trends in dependency which are of special interest. As in the United States the school-leaving age and the costs of education greatly increased in Canada during the post-war period. Thus in 1911 the average school-leaving age was 14.38 and in 1931 16.25, while the average age at which economic independence was achieved was sixteen years in 1911 and eighteen years in 1931. However, in 1936 there were more than 9,000 children fifteen years of age, 21,827 in the sixteen-to-seventeen age group, and 15,390 in the eighteen-to-nineteen age group who were neither in school nor at work. Idleness among the young people of Canada is a serious problem, as it is in the United States.

The Census of Population showed that the number of children living in families other than their own homes (referred to in the monograph as "guardianship children") was 56,918 in 1931. According to the Census of Institutions taken the same year there were 19,643 children in orphanages, homes for adults and children, and other institutions (a large percentage of these were in Quebec); 7,085 in "homes on wages agreement," mainly under the care of juvenile immigration societies; 3,479 in free homes; and 2,300 in boarding-homes—a total of approximately 35,000 under the care of charitable agencies and institutions outside their own homes. Where the more than 21,000 other children who, according to the Population Census, were not in their own homes were cared for the Census does not reveal.

The guardianship children, according to the Census, show a higher percentage of illiteracy and greater retardation in school than do those who live with their own parents. Nearly 6,000 of them were living with illiterate guardians, twothirds of these in rural areas.

The Canadian Child Welfare Council called attention in an excellent report issued some years ago to the irresponsible placement policies of the immigration societies approved by the immigration superintendent. The sending of orphans or poor emigrant children from England has practically stopped in recent years,

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but there are evidently other agencies and institutions, particularly in the maritime provinces, whose placement standards are in need of improvement.

G. A

Industrial Accident Statistics. (Studies and Reports, Series N [Statistics],
 No. 22.) Geneva: International Labour Office, 1938. (Distributed in the United States by I.L.O. [Washington Branch], 734 Jackson Place,
 Washington, D.C.) Pp. 129. \$1.00.

The purpose of this excellent report is to discuss the comparability—or lack of comparability—of industrial accident statistics compiled in the various countries of the world (chap. i) and to present a series of summary tables giving fatal and nonfatal accident rates in several of the principal industrial groups (chap. ii). In addition an Appendix, seventy-three pages long, gives the available data on industrial accidents for thirty-three countries for the period 1927–36 and indicates the sources, scope, and method of compilation of the statistics in each country.

Those whose primary interest is in problems of method will be especially concerned to read the very lucid exposition contained in chapter i. Here the factors that destroy comparability are enumerated and discussed-first those encountered in frequency rates and then those encountered in severity rates. Although severity rates escape some of the hazards that invalidate frequency rates, wide variations in practice must nevertheless be recognized in undertaking comparisons. For example, in the United States, Canada, and Finland a death or a total permanent disability receives a weight of 6,000 days lost, while in Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland such cases count as 7,500 days lost and in New Zealand as 60,000 hours, or 9,545 calendar days, lost. With respect to both rates an identical problem is encountered in obtaining a denominator for the rate fraction—that is, the total number of man-hours, or some substitute for man-hours, that will truthfully reflect exposure to risk. Since man-hours are in many countries not available, the discussion focuses upon possible substitutes. The chapter ends with a consideration of the variations in the definition of a given industrial field. In one country, for example, railway accidents may relate only to the employees who operate trains, whereas in another country accidents to machinists in railway shops may also be included.

The comparisons in chapter ii are limited to frequency rates in mining and quarrying, manufacturing, agriculture, and transportation, and severity rates in manufacturing. The numbers of countries included in the comparison vary from six in agriculture to twenty-four in mining. The tables include not only the rates but also an index that uses as a base the average rate for the period covered. The latter series is especially valuable for comparing trends among the various countries, even in cases where a direct comparison of the rates for any given year would be questionable.

WAYNE McMILLEN

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The Prison Labor Problem in Tennessee: A Survey. By U.S. PRISON Industries Reorganization Administration, 1937. Pp. 98 (mimeographed).

This Survey is more or less accidentally taken in illustration of the fifteen surveys of which the Chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics spoke in his reports to the Secretary of Labor for 1936 and 1937. It is so easy to slip from conditions of anarchy into a state of well-ordered arrangements that sometimes important developments go almost unnoticed. The conditions prevailing in the area of penal organization have been hardly short of the anarchical. Each state had its own penal system based on the mistaken psychology of the eighteenth century. "That men must work" was realized—but how, or to what end, who could say? Huge sums went into prison structure. Cruelties and incredible barbarities were practiced in the blasphemous name of punishment or under the hypocritical program of reform. Not only ignorance and hypocrisy but genuine conflict of interest between and among groups both confused and accentuated the issues.

The administration of the criminal law is highly local and constantly disturbed by political upheavals, so that the problems presented each state administration are numerous, kaleidoscopic, and registered in the resistance of the convict to treatment procedures. This local character and indescribable confusion is one of the unforeseen legacies of the constitutional doctrine of the police power being a state prerogative.

Surely law enforcement and crime prevention through sound penal treatment are matters of national concern. The organization of industrial projects, the standards of educational provision, the participation in the widest range of experimentation—all of these call for co-operation and participation on a national scale. A program of federal-state-local participation must be based on consent and co-operation and must begin with the assembling of necessary data about the situation everywhere. These reports of the studies made of prison industries are the signs of a promising development, giving hope where before despair may be confessed. Besides the encouraging co-operation between the federal government and some of the states, there is the further co-operation between the Division of Prisons of the United States Attorney-General's Office and the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the creation of an independent administration, the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, the P.I.R.A., through which the wisdom and experience of such students of the problem as Judge Joseph N. Ulman, of Baltimore, and Dr. Louis N. Robinson, of Philadelphia, are utilized.

As was said above, this Tennessee report may be taken as a sample. The statement of the recommendations is presented to the President, but contains the results of the study on which those recommendations were based. There was not so much "a crisis in Tennessee" as the recognition of a crisis, a description of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 1936, p. 83; 1937, p. 74. There are surveys of fourteen states and the District of Columbia.

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the conditions, practices, and procedures, of crowding, of idleness or of manufacture for the free market, and finally of recidivism marking the failure of the institution. The recommendations, which will not be repeated here, have to do with reconstructing the state authority, with abandoning some of the old fields of employment, the development of a competent professional staff to examine and classify the men and women, the working-out of an educational program to abolish illiteracy and to recognize the academic and vocational needs of the prisoners. The revision of the laws dealing with probation and parole and the "modernizing of the system in every phase of its program" are among the changes urged.

What will happen, how rapidly the program will develop, no one can say. But other states will ask similar help, and advances will be made in some. At any rate, these studies will help on the solution of questions of penal administration. Eventually it may be possible to find the way from the older idea of punishment to new and effective procedure in treatment, without sacrificing the right of the community to effective security.

S. P. B.

Paternity Laws: Analysis and Tabular Summary of State Laws Relating to Paternity and Support of Children Born out of Wedlock in Effect January 1, 1938 (U.S. Children's Bureau, Chart No. 16.) Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938. Pp. 83. \$0.20.

This summary of the state laws relating to the paternity of children born out of wedlock is a timely one. It is in chart form, but in the Introduction there is a useful discussion of the statutes and the problems they solve or leave unsolved. Following the charts, the complete text of the laws in Minnesota, New York, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin, and the Uniform Illegitimacy Act recommended by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, are given.

A revival of interest in improvement of our laws and their administration in this field is very greatly needed. In recent years the needs of this group of children has been pushed into the background by the depression and the security legislation. It should now be possible to make headway again in a public program which would remove the legal handicaps of these children and provide for an individualized case-work approach in treatment. Social workers who are considering amendment of their state laws should secure this report.

Child-Welfare Legislation, 1937. (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 236.) Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938. Pp. 91. \$0.10.

The United States Children's Bureau has for many years included in its Annual Report a brief summary of state child welfare legislation. This publica-

tion covers a larger number of subjects than were formerly included—they are summarized under sixteen general headings—but it is made available some seven months later than the Annual Report. In 1937 there were forty-three state legislatures in session. According to this report changes were made in the state and local administrative departments in thirty-nine states, amendment of existing laws or the passage of new laws providing aid to dependent children in their own homes in twenty-eight states, provision of other types of service and care for dependent children in thirty states, adoption legislation in seven states-to mention only a few of the subjects. The report will be of interest to all who are preparing child welfare legislation for 1939 and to those whose work requires a knowledge of the laws of the several states.

A Historical Summary of State Services for Children in Massachusetts (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 239, Part 4); in Alabama (Publication No. 230, Part 3). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938. Pp. v+50; 34. \$0.10 each.

These are the most recent reports in the series of historical summaries of state services for children to which reference was made in the September number of the Review. Because of its long history and early development of a state and local foster-home program, more adequate care for dependent children in their own homes than any other state, and probation for juveniles, this historical summary of Massachusetts is particularly useful. Alabama, where organization of the state public welfare services came some fifty years later than in Massachusetts, presents a very interesting contrast to the history of Massachusetts, New York, and other states which attacked the problem of state organization much earlier. These states have had greater difficulty in securing acceptance of the modern concept of an effective organization of the public services than states like Alabama, where organization has been developed in the present era.

It was in 1010 that Alabama refused to provide a general department of public welfare and created a State Board of Control and Economy to deal with the fiscal problems of state institutions and an independent Child Welfare Department. Doubtless, it was expected that little would be accomplished by the latter, but those who took this view underestimated the intelligence, energy, and unusual qualities of leadership which Mrs. Tunstall as state director brought to the problem. When the depression came, county units of child welfare, acting with and under the state department, were developing a state-wide program for children along modern organization lines. These are no longer independent but a part of the State Department of Public Welfare and the county public welfare organization which became effective after the Social Security Act was passed.

Technical and Financial International Co-operation with Regard to Migration for Settlement. International Labour Office (Studies and Reports, Ser. O [Migration], No. 7). Geneva, 1938. Pp. 180. \$1.00. Distributed in the United States by the I.L.O. (Washington Branch), 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.

This report of the so-called "Technical Conference of Experts" follows some other recent studies of the economic aspects of migration for purposes of resettlement which have been published, in part, in the International Labour Review. The report of the present conference also follows a relatively recent report on the Migration of Workers: Recruitment, Placing, and Conditions of Labour also from the International Labour Office (Migration Series O, No. 5 [Geneva, 1936]). In general, these reports deal chiefly with opportunities for the settlement of migrants in South America, but there are also reports on migration and settlement in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, and in the Belgian Congo. But these reports do not deal with the subject of refugees, and in particular they do not deal with the recent problem regarding new homes for the Jewish people.

The 1938 "Conference of Experts" included representatives of ten immigration countries and eight emigration countries, including Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Hungary, Japan, Netherlands, Peru, Poland, Switzerland, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. The governing body of the I.L.O., the economic committee of the League of Nations, and the economic and financial sections of the Secretariat were also represented.

The conference, which was intended to ascertain how technical and financial international co-operation for the settlement of groups of immigrants on the land, especially in Latin America, might be facilitated, concluded its proceedings by adopting unanimously a report embodying its proposals, as well as a resolution.

The first part of the present report consists of a report prepared by the I.L.O. The second part is divided into two sections, one of which contains a detailed record of the general discussion, the other contains the report adopted by the conference. The first of the three appendixes, at the end of the volume, includes a list of delegates to the conference, the second gives the list of points which served as the basis of the discussion on special problems arising from the question on the agenda, while the third contains documentary information submitted by certain delegations.

Unemployment Insurance Act, 1935: Decisions Given by the Umpire, . . . . Vol. XIV. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1936. Pp. 134. 3s.

Students of public administrative problems will continue to find these cases extremely valuable for study and reference. How can a statutory definition of compensable unemployment be so drawn as to cover the vast number of indi-

vidual cases that come before administrators, courts of referees, and umpires. Earlier volumes in this series have been reviewed here in other years. An extract from a typical case (No. 6159/35) has been selected from this most recent volume as further illustration of the problems of administrative law that must be dealt with by those in charge of unemployment-insurance benefits or unemployment compensation. In this case, a bus-driver who had been driving a private car outside of working hours had had his license withdrawn for a year. Was he entitled to unemployment benefit?

The claimant for four and a half years preceding 18th May, 1035, was employed as a motor omnibus driver by the Central S.M.T. Company, Limited. He lost his employment on 18th May, 1935, because his driving licence had been suspended for twelve

On losing his employment the claimant made application for unemployment benefit, and his claim was referred to the Court of Referees, who found that he had not lost his employment through his misconduct, and that he was entitled to receive unemployment benefit.

The Insurance Officer has appealed against the Court's decision.

The fact that the claimant lost his employment by reason of the suspension of his driving licence does not prevent it being said that he lost his employment through his misconduct, provided that the act which resulted in the suspension of the licence was "misconduct" within the meaning of the word in Section 27 of the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1935 (Decision 5578/35).

Whether an act, whereby the claimant loses his employment, which is committed outside the working hours of the claimant's employment, and is not directly connected with his employment, is "misconduct" within the meaning of that word in Section 27 of the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1935, depends upon whether: (i) it is an act of such a character as to render the claimant unsuitable for the employment which he has lost (see Decisions 598, 3150, 2051/25,15066/31); or (ii) was an act so closely connected with the claimant's employment as to amount to misconduct therein (see Decisions 4258, 264-25, 4569/26).

The act for which the claimant lost his licence was, in my opinion and in the opinion of the Court of Referees, within neither of those categories.

To my mind this case is analogous to the reported cases of a railway fireman who was convicted of a breach of the peace outside of his working hours (4120); a council employee who neglected to pay his rates (176/25); a miner convicted of housebreaking (1483/25); a single woman who was discharged when it was discovered she was pregnant (453/26). In each of these cases it was held that the claimant had not lost his or her employment through his or her misconduct [pp. 83-84].

#### STATE AND CITY REPORTS

Social Service Manual for Use in the Administration of Public Assistance. Albany: New York State Department of Social Welfare, 1938. Pp. 61.

State departments of public welfare which are preparing or revising a public assistance manual and students of the subject will be interested in this printed

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loose-leaf Manual of procedures which has just been issued by the New York State Department of Social Welfare.

It is a statement of state policies that are determined, first, by the New York public assistance law and, second, by the administrative practices adopted by the Department to make the law effective. The form of the *Manual* is excellent. As both the law and the administrative procedures may be changed from time to time, the loose-leaf form will permit omissions and additions without reprinting. The chapters are divided into subdivisions, each with a title and number, thus facilitating specific reference in questions and replies.

The first seven chapters of the *Manual* cover intake, need, field investigation, determination of grant, authorization, follow-up and closing of cases, complaints and appeals, and case records. The next three chapters are devoted to the problems of settlement, and the last three cover procedures for C.C.C., the rural programs, and surplus commodities. As forms are being reviewed they are not included in the *Manual* but will be supplied on request until the new forms are printed and added to the *Manual*.

Public Welfare in Transition: Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare of New York City for the Year 1937. 1938. Pp. 132.

Commissioner William Hodson has given the foregoing title to the annual report of the work of the Department of Public Welfare of New York City because "the year 1937 marks the transition, in both City and State, from 'temporary' and 'emergency' relief to assistance for the needy as a regular function of government administered by a permanent department."

The report is interesting among other reasons because of the method used in the annual accounting of the department. There is first a general discussion of the outstanding changes that new legislation and administrative reorganization require. Here the reader finds brief reference to the relationships with federal and state governments, the new assistance program for the blind, examinations for the relief staff and department investigators, the care of transients, the "pay as you go" policy in financing relief, the withdrawal by the W.P.A. of the unemployed assigned to the department for clerical assistance (570 civil service employees were needed to replace them), and the administrative experiment of consolidating all forms of public assistance on Staten Island.

Following this are summaries of the general work of the department—care of destitute and neglected children, old age assistance, etc. Finally, the statistical tables are given. This form is admirable, as are the format and the pictures. But the *Report* is all too brief for an understanding of the department's services.

An effort was obviously made to keep the *Report* brief, probably with a view to increasing the number of citizen readers. But this has meant that the discussion is not adequate for the student of the subject. For example, Table XXXV, "Establishment of Paternity and Support for Children Born out of Wedlock,"

is not discussed in the Report, and anyone interested in this subject could not understand from this table the department's organization for services to this group of children. The brief general summary might be considered sufficient for the general reader, but a more detailed discussion is needed for the benefit of other public administrators and those who are professionally interested in special aspects of the work. Because it is the largest local public welfare unit in the United States, because it has a reform mayor who has been especially eager to assist those who are unemployed and in need for other causes, and because public welfare administration is undergoing great changes everywhere at this time, there is unusual interest in knowing what New York City is doing. Most public welfare administrators and students of the subject can know it only through the annual report. However much they may approve the general form and attractiveness of the Report, such readers will regard it as a light lunch instead of a full dinner.

The Extent of Dependency upon Old Age Assistance in South Dakota. By JOHN P. JOHANSEN. (Department of Rural Sociology, Agricultural Experiment Station of South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Brookings, S.D., co-operating with South Dakota W.P.A., Mitchell, S.D. Bull. 318 [February, 1938].) Pp. 47.

Social and Economic Circumstances of Accepted Applicants for Old Age Assistance in South Dakota. By John P. Johansen. (Bull. 323 [June, 1938].) Pp. 55.

The problem of the needy aged has, in recent years, weighed more heavily upon legislators than any other aspect of social security. "Funny money" schemes have been urged by the embattled ranks of the aged. Candidates for office have indorsed pension programs that filled them with secret terror. But the aged are organized and articulate. Legislators have felt, and still feel, that something must be done to meet their demands.

Studies in the field of old age dependency are particularly timely in a period when legislators are being pressed by force of circumstance to try to understand the problem. Statistics currently published by the Social Security Board and administrative studies at the state level, such as Robert Lansdale has carried forward so vigorously in New York, Massachusetts, and other important states, need to be supplemented by more detailed analyses that will reveal the character and extent of the needs that predominate among the aged. The monographs under consideration here represent one attempt in one state to throw these very elements into sharper relief.

The data were drawn from written applications for old age assistance filed with the county welfare boards from October, 1936, through January, 1937. Bulletin 318 presents facts with respect to sex, age, marital condition, rural-urban residence, state and country of birth, and citizenship. Bulletin 323 is

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concerned with such problems as physical condition, medical care, changes in residence, responsibility of relatives, occupation, assets, housing conditions, living arrangements, and amounts of awards.

The question of finance is basic in South Dakota, as in most states. From March through June in 1937 state funds were insufficient to pay the awards. In this emergency the Resettlement Administration came to the rescue and gave resettlement grants to persons who would normally have received old age assistance. This episode raises interesting questions. The net effect of the plan, of course, was to provide more than 50 per cent of the old age assistance money in 1937 from federal funds. Other data in these publications amply demonstrate that this was a sound social policy. But, of course, it was a makeshift. In a state not predominantly rural, this expedient could probably not have been adopted. The question raised here is the difficult one of the differential grant. All available evidence indicates that the wide variations in state resources may ultimately require a more refined formula than the present flat 50 per cent re-imbursement for all states. Experiences such as South Dakota encountered in 1937 suggest that it is not too soon to start now the detailed statistical work that will be required as a basis for developing a formula that contains variables.

More than 38 per cent of all approved applicants in South Dakota resided on farms, and 70 per cent gave their usual occupation as farming. Moreover, 45 per cent of the beneficiaries were farm-owners. Indians, a group almost wholly rural in residence and occupation, were worse off than any other group in the state. The inescapable conclusion is that agriculture has failed lamentably in this region in providing an acceptable modicum of security.

The facts concerning rejected applicants are of special interest. Less than 1 per cent of the total applicants were rejected because they had legally responsible relatives who were believed to be able to care for them. With respect to this phenomenon, the report says (Bull. 318, p. 37):

To some extent, this goes to show that legal responsibility of relatives is not enforced. Perhaps, it is better to say that the requirement is not enforceable. . . . . When sentiments of filial sympathy and gratitude do not in themselves lead to the voluntary assumption of responsibility—, the requirements of the law remain largely a dead letter.

The conclusion reached by the author is that "to bring about an improvement in the social relations between the needy aged person and his financially competent and legally responsible son or daughter requires social case work of the highest skill, tact, and resourcefulness."

The author's appreciation of the importance of good case work in a program of old age assistance is likewise manifested at other points. He says, for example (Bull. 323, p. 6):

.... Adequate employment is a blessing and .... is one of the main props of the individual's happiness and self-respect. Certainly it is unwise to force the retirement of the aged into inactivity.... Imperative social, spiritual and economic reasons urge that the best possible opportunities for useful activities or interesting hobbies should be found for them.

It is evident that the problem of legal settlement harasses administrators of old age assistance in most of the counties of the state. County residence is required of those who are granted ordinary poor relief. Beneficiaries of old age assistance, on the other hand, may qualify by proving the required period of residence anywhere in the state. Aged persons who move to a new county to be with or near their children thus frequently become ineligible for poor relief. Since the maximum allowed in South Dakota under the Old Age Assistance Act is thirty dollars per month, it is frequently necessary to apply for supplementary poor relief, especially in cases of illness and disability.

In anticipation of such a possibility, poor-relief officials seek to discourage migration of the aged by serving notices to prevent them from acquiring legal settlement. To prevent migration in this way in cases where a move would be socially constructive is clearly inimical to the best interests of the aged. In slightly less than half of all cases, the children of the beneficiaries do not live in the same county as the parent. It is clear, however, that local poor-law officers will continue to serve notices so long as the present settlement provisions are in force. As in so many other cases, the situation can be remedied only by a revision of the state poor law.

W. McM.

### CONTRIBUTORS

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